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Hillary's Strength

**TIM ALBERTA ON**  
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# NATIONAL REVIEW



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## Lord Kelvin, Out of Context?

Robert Zubrin ("The Human Factor," September 21) may well be right to deny that global warming poses a risk of catastrophic problems. Part of his case for that denial, however, rests on statistical sleight-of-hand.

Zubrin says that, over the past 50 years, the result of unconstrained emission of carbon dioxide into the atmosphere has been an increase in the global mean temperature of only 0.2 percent. The temperature went from 287 K to 288 K. He is right—if you measure global temperatures on the Kelvin scale. But why does he choose a scale that starts at absolute zero?

In astrobiology, "habitable zone" refers to the region in which a planet orbiting its sun can have liquid water. Planets outside the habitable zone cannot support life. The freezing point of water is 273 K. Thus, 273 K marks the lower bound of any plausibly relevant scale measuring changes in mean global surface temperature. (Indeed, it sets the lower bound conservatively.)

Here, then, is the statistical sleight-of-hand. Zubrin employs a scale that has the current global mean temperature at 288 K. But on that very scale, every possible mean temperature from 0 K to 273 K is irrelevant. If instead we measure changes in Celsius—a scale on which 0 marks the freezing point of water—we see that the average global mean temperature has increased from 14 to 15 degrees. That is an increase of about 7 percent. Maybe that is a catastrophic increase, maybe it is not. But putting the temperature numbers that way at least gives the public a real sense of the scale of the problem. Measuring global temperatures in kelvins does not.

Neil A. Manson  
Oxford, Miss.

ROBERT ZUBRIN RESPONDS: The average global temperature has increased 0.6 degrees Celsius over the past 60 years. This is 0.2 percent of the absolute temperature, or 1 percent of the range (−25 to +35 degrees Celsius) experienced in my home state of Colorado, among many other places, in the course of a single year. In either case, it is trivial in comparison with the 15-percent increase in the rate of plant growth and the 400-percent increase in average global GDP per capita caused by the unconstrained use of carbon-based fuels over the same period. Moreover, there is no evidence to support the contention that the climate of the 1950s was in any way preferable to that of today, let alone the idea that the barely detectable temperature increase represents some sort of catastrophe—which it would certainly have to be to outweigh the enormous increase in living standards made possible by fossil fuels.



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# The Week



Text

■ If Bernie Sanders is tired of hearing about Clinton scandals now, he should just wait till she's president.

■ Hillary Clinton came out against the TPP (Trans-Pacific Partnership), a trade agreement negotiated by the Obama administration. What was interesting about her decision was not that she took it in order to mollify the Democratic party's anti-free-trade Left, nor that she took it cynically, having praised the TPP as it was being negotiated (and while she was secretary of state) as "the gold standard in trade agreements." No, what was most interesting was that almost the entire political world assumed her cynicism: not just us-folks on the right, eager to see her shame herself, and political opponents ("I did not come out against TPP yesterday," said Bernie Sanders), but liberal media outlets (CNN counted, and announced that she had praised the TPP 45 times). That leaves, among her admirers, those who are too cynical to care about cynicism, and those who are so cynical that they admire it in others.

■ We praised Scott Walker's health-care plan as the best offered by a presidential candidate. Now that Jeb Bush has offered a similar plan, we can say he has the best plan in the current field. Like many other conservative plans, Bush's would replace Obamacare—junking its individual and employer mandates, its federal definition of essential benefits, and so on—while removing a lot of the distortions that federal policy has imposed on health markets since decades before Obamacare. Health-savings accounts would be expanded. States would be freed to convert much of Medicaid into cash help for poor people seeking to buy health insurance on the private market. The last two Republican presidential nominees both handicapped themselves on health care: John McCain by presenting a plan that threatened the employer coverage most Americans have, Mitt Romney by refusing to explain how he would replace Obamacare. Bush avoids both pitfalls—as the next Republican nominee, whether Bush or someone else, should.

■ John Kasich likes to describe, in his presidential-campaign speeches, people "yelling at me" for expanding Medicaid under Obamacare as governor of Ohio: "I tell them . . . there's a book. It's got a new part and an old part. They put it together. It's a remarkable book. If you don't have one, I'll buy you one. And it talks about how we treat the poor." There is also a playbook, much shorter than the volume Kasich refers to. It has only one part and is also remarkable in its way. It tells politicians how to use cherry-picked quotations and sanctimony to distract critics, slap a little veneer on their images, and advance their ambitions. No need to buy one for John Kasich, he already has a copy.

■ Ben Carson caused something of a stir in October when he suggested that, had the Jews of Europe been armed during World War II, the Holocaust might have been "greatly diminished" in



scale. This claim is almost certainly overstated. The German war machine was a model of ruthless and all-encompassing efficiency that was capable of carving through well-equipped armies. So there seems to have been little chance that it could have been overthrown or seriously resisted by a relatively small group that, tragically, was unaware of its fate until it was too late. Nevertheless, the vehemence with which Carson has been denounced should give us pause. All men possess an unalienable right to defend themselves, and that right is not contingent upon their likelihood of success. Moreover, if the lesson of history is that ostensibly civilized nations are capable of the unimaginable, there seems little reason for free men to relinquish their arms. Carson understands this, even if he has overstated his justifications. One cannot help but suspect that the anger we have seen directed at him is intended not for his historical hyperbole, but at his eminently reasonable, if politically inconvenient, conclusion.

■ Bobby Jindal, the Republican governor of Louisiana, detailed a tax-reform plan as part of his presidential bid. He would cut taxes a lot: The Tax Foundation estimates that revenues would fall by \$9 trillion even if the plan stimulated a lot of economic growth. Our coming debt crisis is so near that Jindal would have to outline spending cuts of the same specificity and magnitude for a tax cut so large to be worth pursuing. As large as the tax cut is, however, people in the bottom 40 percent of the income distribution would see a tax increase. Jindal believes that it's important for everyone to have "skin in the game" so that they do not think

**“All through this, my vision has been of a society in which everyone has the freedom and opportunity to live according to the vision on which this country was founded. And this means everyone is treated equally under the law.”**

**—Charles G. Koch**

Criminal justice and policing reforms are gaining momentum, but more needs to be done.

The Charles Koch Institute is holding a summit to help identify the next set of priorities and support a broad coalition that can help address barriers to further progress.

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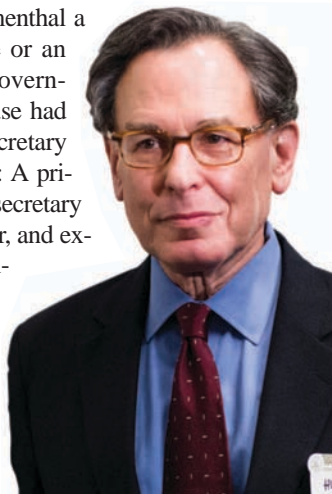




they can vote for big government for free, and so he makes sure that everyone pays something in income tax. But most people already pay payroll taxes, and it's not clear that they distinguish between them and income taxes. If Jindal's theory is correct, however, he has given roughly 40 percent of the electorate an excellent reason to vote against him. Good luck winning the requisite 84 percent of everyone left.

■ Major Bradley Podliska, an intelligence officer in the Air Force Reserve, spent ten months as an investigator for the House Select Committee on Benghazi before being fired in June. He says that he was being pressured by committee members to focus exclusively on Clinton, and that he was punished for taking a leave of absence to fulfill his military-service obligations. Chairman Trey Gowdy (R., S.C.) says otherwise: "It's a damn lie," he told NBC News. Gowdy says that, before turning to CNN to air his grievances, Podliska never mentioned them—during a period of counseling for deficient performance, when he was terminated, or during a months-long period of post-termination legal mediation. That mediation was scheduled to end October 13, which probably accounts for Podliska's timing. Unfortunately, the timing, and not the accuracy, of Podliska's claims is what will matter to Democrats and a sympathetic media, who, combining this latest news with House majority leader Kevin McCarthy's recent Benghazi-related gaffe, are eager to dismiss the legitimacy of the select committee. Representative Louise Slaughter (D., N.Y.) has already filed a motion to disband it. But investigating Benghazi has always faced Democratic pushback. The more effective the investigation is, the louder the wailing will be.

■ Like a real-life Carmen Sandiego, Sidney Blumenthal has a knack for turning up in hot spots—Libya, for example, where he apparently served as Hillary Clinton's de facto political adviser, according to a new batch of e-mails recovered by the House Select Committee on Benghazi. This was no patriotic mission. The e-mails reveal that Blumenthal had business interests in Libya and stood to profit, literally, from a post-Qaddafi government. Furthermore, evidently as unconcerned about national security as his boss, Blumenthal sent Clinton classified information, including the name of a CIA operative—which Hillary then forwarded from her private e-mail address. And at no time during these activities was Blumenthal a State Department employee or an employee of the federal government; in fact, the White House had explicitly prohibited then-secretary Clinton from hiring him. So: A private citizen was advising the secretary of state, profiteering from war, and exposing highly sensitive intelligence information that he should not have had access to in the first place, all under the auspices of Hillary Clinton. Gosh, maybe somebody should investigate this!



■ The Secret Service, embarrassed by Utah Republican representative Jason Chaffetz's investigation into its scandals—whoring in Colombia, driving drunk on the White House grounds—went to work digging for dirt on Chaffetz. It doesn't seem to have found any, but the intent was made clear by assistant director Ed Lowery, who wrote to his fellow assistant director Faron Paramore: "Some information that he might find embarrassing needs to get out." Some 45 Secret Service agents illegally accessed Chaffetz's records, including 18 higher-ups who failed to report the violation. Accessing protected records without authorization is a felony under federal law, punishable by up to ten years in prison; Lowery and Paramore should do every day of that time for their role in what looks for all the world like a conspiracy to blackmail a member of Congress, or, at the very least, a conspiracy to obstruct his investigation.

■ The House Oversight Committee held hearings about Planned Parenthood that fizzled. The job of Cecile Richards, the group's president, is to defend the indefensible, and Republicans on the committee made it easier by focusing on Planned Parenthood's finances rather than its morally grotesque practices. The questioning, varying greatly in tone and focus from one member to the next, was disjointed, and Richards escaped with nary a scratch (although Planned Parenthood announced shortly afterward that it would stop selling baby body parts and start giving them away for free—how humane). If Republicans want to get serious about such hearings, they should have a legal counselor doing the questioning who can develop a sustained line of inquiry. It will mean less air time for members but more effective oversight.

■ Deportations are at a ten-year low, according to preliminary internal statistics obtained by the Associated Press. That can come as no surprise. Despite efforts to cast itself as tough on border security (for instance, by manipulating deportation statistics, counting among "deported" illegal immigrants those caught at the border and turned around), the Obama administration's lack of interest in enforcing federal immigration law has been evident. In fact, after two executive orders granting amnesty to some 7 million illegal immigrants, and, as Katie Steinle's death revealed, a disinclination to expel even repeat felons, it's extraordinary that they can find anyone to deport.

■ Remember Wendy Davis? She captured the heart of the national media in 2013 with her pink-shoed stand in defense of grisly late-term abortions in Texas. Voters were rather less enamored of her performance: She received a drubbing in the governor's race a year later. Now, it seems, her star is rising again among her core constituency: NBC executives have announced that she's the inspiration for a new TV drama in development. The show will center on an imagined post-political career in which "she goes to work in the law firm of her best friend—a black male Republican—and discovers that with no political future to protect, she can unshackle her inner badass." It sounds almost as plausible and compelling as her erstwhile candidacy.

■ Arne Duncan became secretary of education in 2009 at a moment of bipartisan support for education reform. Promise has given way to bitterness since then, and Duncan bears more responsibility for it than anyone else. He is a true believer in the

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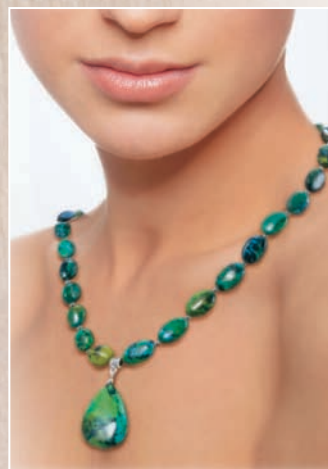
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# Stocks and the Clinton Effect

**F**INANCIAL markets look to the future when pricing assets. If a 50 percent chance emerges that a company will be worthless tomorrow, the price drops 50 percent today. Accordingly, elections can be a time of great valuation stress for those in the crosshairs of candidates. If a candidate with a real chance of victory announces a policy harmful to a specific set of companies, the damage can be significant.

Drug companies research drugs for many years, and occasionally find a winner that can be marketed to consumers. The prices for the few drugs that are ultimately sold to the public are high, as they must be to provide a positive return for all research and development (including the many cases in which it leads to failure). This approach has been an astonishing success in the U.S., and new and innovative drugs for HIV, cancer, and other significant maladies have emerged from the for-profit sector in recent decades.

The high prices of the drugs that make it to market are nonetheless a regular target of progressives, who seem to presume either that private companies will spend billions on drug discovery without a profit incentive or that academic researchers are responsible for all the major breakthroughs. Neither presumption is correct.

On September 21, the Clinton campaign rolled out a plan to “hold the pharmaceutical industry accountable and rein in drug costs.” “This isn’t a new fight for her. She fought against special interests for affordable health coverage in the 1990s,” her campaign website asserts. Indeed, then as now, the Clintons took aim at the pricing of pharmaceutical drugs. For instance, in December 1992, the *New York Times* wrote that then-president-elect Bill Clinton pledged to “stop drug price gouging” by eliminating tax breaks for companies that raised drug prices by more than inflation as measured by the Consumer Price Index.

In just the five days following her September 21 announcement of her renewed interest in putting a ceiling over the price of pharmaceutical drugs, the S&P Pharmaceutical Industry Index tumbled as much as 6.4 percent. Media accounts widely linked the decline to Clinton’s proposal.

The Clintons’ first pass at bashing this industry attracted the attention of the peer-reviewed economics literature. An April 2001 article in the *Journal of Law and Economics*, “Gradual Incorporation of Information: Pharmaceutical Stocks and the Evolution of President Clinton’s Health Care Reform,” used sophisticated statistical techniques to assess the impact of the first Clinton effort. Its authors, Sarah Ellison and Wallace Mullin, attribute market-adjusted pharmaceutical-share-price declines of over 50 percent to the Clinton policy push.

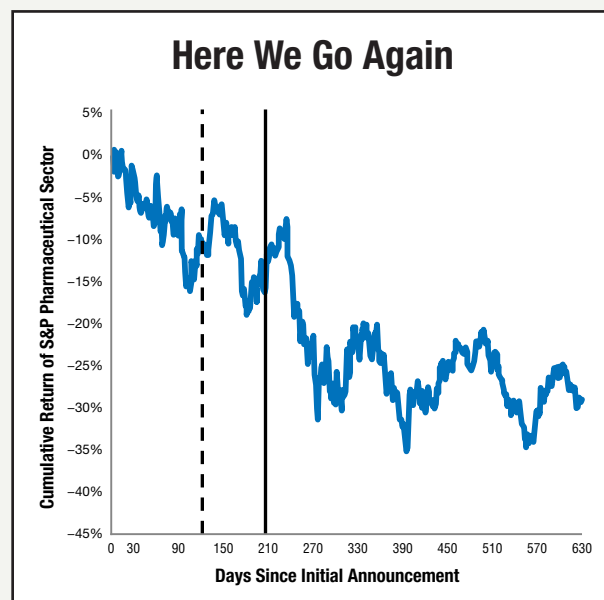
You do not need sophisticated analysis, however, to see the negative effect that the Clintons’ 1990s campaign had on pharmaceutical share prices. The nearby chart shows the cumulative decline in the S&P Pharmaceutical Industry Index for every day of U.S. stock-market trading between what Ellison and Mullin identify as the “opening round” of

the Clinton pharmaceutical push on January 19, 1992, and the death of the Clinton health-care-reform bill in Congress on July 21, 1994. The cumulative decline during the period is measured relative to the index price on January 17, 1992, the last day of U.S. stock trading before Clinton’s initial announcement. The first day of U.S. stock trading after that announcement—January 20—is day “0” on the chart, which on its horizontal axis shows the number of trading days that have elapsed since January 19. For context, the dotted bar marks the start of the Democratic national convention that would nominate Bill Clinton for the presidency, and the solid bar marks the Election Day that would make him president.

As you can see, the “Clinton effect” on the pricing of pharmaceutical shares is enormous. It reached a whopping –34.8 percent in August 1993. Meanwhile, the S&P was up about 7 percent over the same period. Even by the saga’s end in July 1994, the cumulative effect was –28.8 percent, compared with the S&P’s +8.1 percent. It wasn’t the whole market that tanked—it was the sector that the president of the United States and his wife had in their sights. The S&P pharmaceutical index didn’t regain its value until May 3, 1995. The Clintons’ chatter removed billions of dollars from innovative companies, and probably significantly reduced progress towards cures for numerous diseases.

The S&P pharmaceuticals index has for the moment recovered the losses it suffered after Hillary’s statement this September. But the Nineties episode happened when a “New Democrat” was trying to wean his party from its insistence that the era of big government should continue. One can only wonder how bad it will get this time, as Mrs. Clinton proposes anti-corporate policies in an attempt to compete with socialist Bernie Sanders.

—KEVIN A. HASSETT





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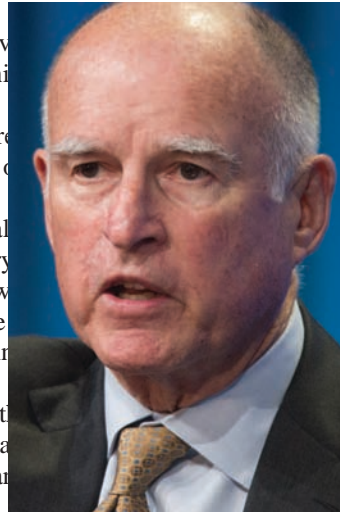


delusion that centralizing education policy in Washington public officials should be able to exercise religious freedom in D.C., will improve the schools, and he was in a position to act on that belief. He offered states relief from the federal government's unrealistic regulations in return for their adoption of favored policies. He moved to oversee schools' disciplinary policies, and to make colleges lower their standards of proof for sexual-misconduct cases. These power grabs were bound to create a backlash, as they should have, and they have. Duncanson, the Kentucky official who refused to let marriage licenses go out under her name because she opposes same-sex marriage. They then decided that the pope must have been manipulated into the meeting. The Vatican press office, eager to stop the bad press it had begun to get, did what it could to downplay the meeting. That was ignoble: The press office is supposed to be a ministry, not a spin shop. Davis was asked to keep the meeting secret until after the pope left the country because Church officials feared it would overshadow everything else he said. Judging from the hysterical reaction of the press when it came out, they got that right.

■ Compared with the range of milder mental illnesses on which federal mental-health policies have long been focused, serious mental illnesses directly affect a relatively small number of Americans: less than 5 percent of the total population. But the consequences are evident in our prisons and on our streets—well as in those instances when untreated serious mental illness expresses itself in mass violence, as appears to have been the case in Oregon recently. One proposal that could help is available to Congress right now: psychologist and Pennsylvania Republican representative Tim Murphy's Helping Families in Mental Health Crisis Act (H.R. 2646), which has garnered broad, bipartisan support and would do much to overhaul an ineffective, oft-corrupt mental-health bureaucracy. Murphy would replace the failed Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration (SAMHSA) with an assistant secretary of health and human services for mental health, charged with shifting federal dollars away from useless, often duplicative programs and those that focus on mild forms of mental illness and toward those that concentrate on the most seriously ill. Murphy's bill would also modestly modify privacy laws so that family members of people with serious mental illness can finally be involved in the care of their loved ones. There is no panacea for the problems occasioned by serious mental illness, but the Helping Families in Mental Health Crisis Act is a strong step in the right direction.

■ Trinity Health Corporation, which owns and operates 86 Catholic hospitals in 21 states, has been sued, again, by the American Civil Liberties Union for not performing abortions. In June, a federal judge dismissed a similar lawsuit that the ACLU filed against a Trinity subsidiary. Trinity follows the Ethical and Religious Directives for Catholic Health Care Services, a document from the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops. An attorney for the ACLU objects that "Catholic bishops are not licensed medical professionals and have no place dictating how doctors practice medicine." But the ACLU is not a licensed medical ethicist. It may think it's more qualified to dictate ethics that doctors and the hospitals that employ them should observe, but they remain free to treat unborn children as human beings and to honor the women who trust them to do just that. Patients at Trinity hospitals "think they are getting medical advice but in fact are getting religious advice," an abortion-rights advocate chimes in from the sidelines. In fact, they are getting medical advice informed by the original version of Hippocratic oath.

■ Pope Francis has stated his opposition to same-sex marriage many times. On his flight leaving the United States, he told journalists that, leaving aside the details of any particular case, public officials should be able to exercise religious freedom in D.C., will improve the schools, and he was in a position to act on that belief. He offered states relief from the federal government's unrealistic regulations in return for their adoption of favored policies. He moved to oversee schools' disciplinary policies, and to make colleges lower their standards of proof for sexual-misconduct cases. These power grabs were bound to create a backlash, as they should have, and they have. Duncanson, the Kentucky official who refused to let marriage licenses go out under her name because she opposes same-sex marriage. They then decided that the pope must have been manipulated into the meeting. The Vatican press office, eager to stop the bad press it had begun to get, did what it could to downplay the meeting. That was ignoble: The press office is supposed to be a ministry, not a spin shop. Davis was asked to keep the meeting secret until after the pope left the country because Church officials feared it would overshadow everything else he said. Judging from the hysterical reaction of the press when it came out, they got that right.



■ Governor Jerry Brown signed a bill to legalize physician-assisted suicide for the terminally ill in California, saying that he did so because he would want to have that option if he faced dying in excruciating pain. Under the new law, however, physicians may assist suicides in the absence of pain, and may not do so if the patient is in great and chronic pain but not terminally ill. Nor may a physician kill a patient who is unable to take the prescribed life-ending drug—however much Governor Brown might want to have that assistance in that situation. We fear that successive sessions of the California legislature will address these anomalies. A week after signing the bill, Brown vetoed a bill to enable terminally ill patients to try potentially lifesaving drugs and treatments that have not been approved by the Food and Drug Administration. In matters of life and death, the State of California seems to be putting its thumb on the scale, and on the wrong side.

■ Alabama last year implemented a voter-ID law. According to the closures are evidence of an effort to "suppress the vote" of black Alabamans. "This new Jim Crow isn't subtle," Jackson opined. What Jackson and other agitators have ignored is that (free) voter IDs are available in every county in Alabama through the local election registrar and that the closed satellite-DMV offices were typically located in the same buildings as registrars. So the dark cloud of voter suppression amounts to . . . visiting a different bureaucrat's office in the same building, but down the hall.

■ President Obama's Syria policy is in shambles. Bashar al-Assad, the dictator who crossed Obama's "red line" by using

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chemical weapons, still rules the country's coast, ostensibly read "Thief, murderer Erdogan." The government has backed by his ally Russia. A \$500 million effort to train a quick with accusations against either the Kurds, who are jihadist rebels has been abandoned, after producing only fighting for independence; or the Islamic State, an armed handful; we will now dump weapons on rebels, so long as Turkish opposition; or, yet again, hard-core Marxists, who are not ISIS. ISIS meanwhile thrives, crucifying Christians and waged previous terror campaigns. Also as usual in these blowing up pre-Muslim monuments. Robert Gates, Obama's anonymous crimes, those accused in turn accuse the state of former secretary of defense, outlined the bleak picture being the perpetrator—it's a pious theory but not as so - scathing *Washington Post* op-ed, co-authored with Condoleezza Rice. But the Syrian failure is only one facet of failure.

Obama won office by running against the Iraq War. He Charles Manuel Figueroa is a Cuban dissident, a former political prisoner, and a member of the Movement for a New Republic. He is apparently a political prisoner once more. He jumped generally. Iraq and Afghanistan are nearly failed states; Libya He has been ushered into chaos. His one achievement is a fence at our new embassy in Havana and shouted, "Down slow-walking Iran toward nuclear weapons, which will go to Raúl!" We, the Americans, immediately turned him over to the Saudis to procure their own nukes. Even as Obama believed security agents, who beat him severely, dragged him off. that he himself was the answer to America's racial problems, He has not been seen or heard from since. Some of Figueroa's believed that he himself (son of a Muslim, partly raised in a democracy activists say that he is, in fact, a U.S. citizen. Muslim country) was the answer to our relations with Arab events, we have this sad word of advice for Cuban dissidents and Muslims generally. But the answer turns out to be Don't expect any help from the United States of America. again in 2017, this hasn't worked.

■ For his birthday, Vladimir Putin organized and played in a hockey game, in which he scored seven goals and received a trophy. Severus had a triple triumphal arch put up at Palmyra, pharaohs. (No truth to the rumor that Barack Obama his successful military campaigning Syria. Long abandoned, coached the other team.) Sharing the ice with Putin in the national classical Palmyra was a wonderfully evocative site, the most televised contest were a number of former professional stars preserved in the dry desert climate. Capturing Palmyra along with a sprinkling of industrialists and bureaucrats. Pre - months ago, Islamic State jihadis have been destroying the mostly the other team's goalie came from the latter group. piecemeal. The huge Triumphal Arch had no religious significance. Putin's double-ushanka-trick accounted for nearly half of his chance, but that has not saved it from destruction. ISIS has set goals in the 15–10 years we haven't seen such lax limited this noble monument. Cultural carnage, say shoddy defense since the last NHL All-Star Game. On the evening Syrians. The barbarians of ISIS carry out this pointless valiant list of Putin's macho stunts, being named MVP of a wildest hockey game ranks somewhere between sleeping with a 25-year-old gymnast and invading Ukraine; but, to be fair, he displayed significantly greater accuracy on the ice than our president has shown when shooting basketballs and throwing out pitches. And this time, thankfully, at least Putin kept his shirt on.

■ From 1979 to 1981, there were dozens of American hostages in Iran: our embassy personnel. Today, there are four Americans. And this time, thankfully, at least Putin kept his shirt on. hostages. One of them is Jason Rezaian, a reporter for the *Washington Post*. He has been kept in Tehran's infamous, sordid Evin Prison for a year and two months. Some of those famous Deaton model or Deaton's theory of this or that, but have been spent in solitary confinement. Rezaian is evidently a Deaton of Princeton, who has just been awarded the Nobel Prize in economics, is no less highly regarded by his peers and sentenced—of what and to what, we don't know. T for that. Deaton, who describes his approach as "carefulness of dictatorship has not said. Meanwhile, we are doing deals with the Iranians and broad theories than producing them. Best known for foreign minister at the U.N. understand the case for ignoring his work on refining data about consumption, Deaton has ing this Iranian outrage in the interest of our broader emphases that economic actors are not homogeneous and that toward the country. We just wish that broader policy particularities matter, e.g., that rising incomes have a large effect on the nutrition of very poor households but the effect diminishes rapidly as incomes rise, and that agriculture subsidies for-

■ A lunchtime peace demonstration consisting mostly of aid don't necessarily have their intended or expected consequences. Working with the World Bank, Deaton helped exploded within seconds of each other. According to one construct vast sets of data related to consumption and well-being mate, 97 people were killed and 400 wounded. Those who everything from calories consumed to life expectancy and education) with an eye toward helping those with theories about in the shadows, and that's the case here. Suicide bombings economic development and welfare answer the question: Does suspected, but whom were they acting for? Due to be that actually work? His popular book *The Great Escape: three weeks, national elections are political sleight-of-hand. Health, Wealth, and the Origins of Inequality*, chronicles the the part of Turkish president Recep Tayyip Erdogan, radical improvements in the material condition of human beings mined to become president for life. Plenty of people are equally the past 250 years and suggests avenues for bringing along determined to prevent that outcome. Placards at the demonstration left behind. Progress, too, is in the details.



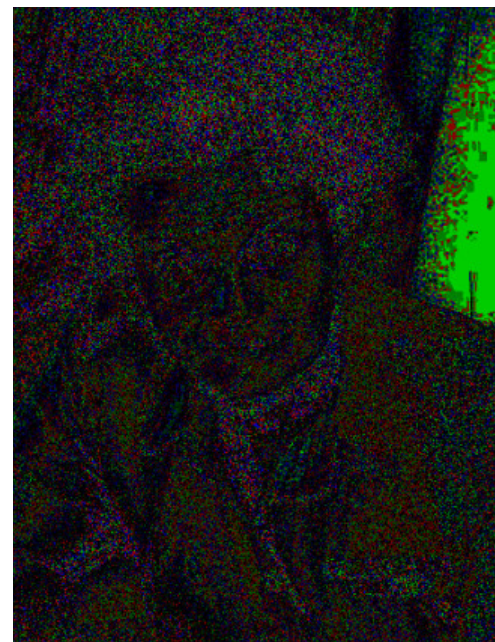
■ On the economic front, it is literally the best news ever: For the first time in the history of the human species, fewer than 10 percent of us are living in extreme poverty, currently defined as subsistence on the equivalent of \$1.90 a day or less. This is a remarkable, momentous, humane achievement: In 1990, that figure was 37.1 percent. In East Asia and the Pacific, extreme poverty has been reduced from 60 percent to 4 percent in a mere 25 years. Economic reforms in India and China, and those in smaller economies, have been critical, as has been globalization, which is held up as the world's great villain by the Sanders Left and the Trumpkin Right. No change comes without discomfiture, but this is the golden age of worldwide human cooperation, a fact that has allowed prosperity to emerge in places where it never had been expected. Where does misery persist? Where the economy is run by central planners, where there are no property rights, where there is no rule of law, where there is no capitalism. Economic progress is not the only kind of progress—1.3 billion better-fed Chinese still live under totalitarian rule—but it is a necessary condition for other kinds.

■ Jewel Shuping, 30, of Raleigh, N.C., recently spoke to media about body-integrity identity disorder, or BIID, from which she used to suffer. She explained that nine years ago she found a psychologist willing to help her achieve her life-long dream of becoming blind. The psychologist poured drain cleaner into Shuping's eyes. Shuping, now blind, lost an eye in the process and says she is finally happy and fulfilled. Her case is a logical extension of the idea that a doctor's relation to a patient's body is like a mechanic's to a customer's car: an idea that has also contributed to the movements for rights to physician-assisted suicide and to sex-reassignment surgery. Increasingly it is the medical profession that has an integrity identity disorder.

■ The latest thing in educational administration is "recess consultants." Officials have noticed that the only part of grade-schoolers' days that is not organized and structured and dictated by the authorities is recess, and they have evidently resolved to put a stop to it. Hence the consultants. These Michelle Obamas of the playground ban competitive games, like soccer or tag, and replace them with cooperative activities that are as popular as tofu. The consultants draw up a weekly list of approved games, explain the rules to the bewildered pre-teens, and enforce them vigilantly to make sure that every stray comment is encouraging and every activity is "inclusive." The results are about what you'd expect. It brings to mind Mark Twain's maxim that "work consists of whatever a body is *obliged* to do [and] play consists of whatever a body is not obliged to do," though we will admit this: Over-regulated, authoritarian playground activities will give kids excellent preparation for life in post-Obama America.

■ Say the name of Clare Hollingworth and you are talking about journalistic scoops. She's been in the right places at the right time—especially on September 1, 1939. In a hotel in Katowice on the Polish border, she heard a noise outside, and looking out of the window saw the German tanks. "The Second World War has started," she was able to break the news. Are you sure? her editor asked. She settled his doubts by holding the receiver out of the

window so he could for himself hear the massive armored rumble on its way east. And then she was in Beirut, when a Russian ship left with a full complement of crew but also leaving one sailor on shore. Clare brilliantly worked out that the KGB was smuggling the Soviet arch-spy Kim Philby to safety in Moscow. Be your age, Claire, a disbelieving editor said this time, agreeing only after she threatened to resign to publish a story that would enter the history books. In retirement in Hong Kong, this living legend has just celebrated her 104th birthday.



■ On March 30, 1981, outside the Washington Hilton Hotel, John Hinckley Jr. shot President Ronald Reagan, in office only ten weeks. At Reagan's side was Secret Service agent Jerry Parr, who pushed him into the presidential limousine and onto the floor, and told the driver to take them back to the White House. Reagan's breathing was labored, and blood formed at his mouth. Parr quickly redirected the driver to George Washington University Hospital. "Whatever happens now I owe my life to God and will try to serve him every way I can," Reagan wrote in his diary eleven days later. Parr, too, saw Providence at work, both in the president's survival and in his own ability to help. He retired from the Secret Service in 1985 and entered the ministry, receiving a master's degree in pastoral counseling from Loyola University in Baltimore and working as co-pastor of a non-denominational church in Washington. He helped save one man's life and hoped to save souls. He exemplified resourcefulness, an American virtue. Dead at 85. R.I.P.

#### POLITICS

### Ryan's Moment

SOMETIMES duty calls.

Paul Ryan long has told people that he has no interest in being speaker of the House, and he has been completely sincere. He wants to be a legislator and truly prizes his perch as chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, where he can craft tax and entitlement legislation, and get it signed into law if a Republican is elected president next year.

But his party needs Ryan in a different role. With Speaker John Boehner stepping down and Majority Leader Kevin McCarthy bowing out of the race to be his successor, no one is better equipped to build a working Republican majority than Ryan is.

House Republicans are angrily divided, and no faction is blameless. Too many Republicans have been content with an agenda that merely attempts to get business done on time, and to please business lobbies. (Those lobbies are sometimes right and sometimes wrong, but conservatism is not reducible to their preferences.) Too many other Republicans think that leadership consists of unrealistic demands combined with strong rhetoric.



More than any other prominent House Republican, Ryan has pushed back against both tendencies. He has instead outlined a practical agenda and done the hard work of building support for it from all corners of the party. Although he has sided with leadership in tactical disputes in recent years, he has consistently pushed the envelope on substance, understanding that the party needs a serious policy agenda to counter that of the Democrats. He is a knowledgeable and effective defender of conservative policy. Sometimes we think he is wrong on both substantive and tactical matters, but we never doubt that he is wrong for honorable reasons. This is why Ryan is trusted by most House Republicans, whatever their opinion of the Boehner era.

For Ryan to lead House Republicans would require some accommodations. He would have to commit to keeping immigration legislation that most Republicans oppose off the floor, whatever his own opinion of it. He would have to receive assurances from many of the Republicans who vexed Boehner that they will stay with the party on procedural votes, in return for assurances that he will not ride roughshod over them. (Note that “many” is not the same as “all”: Republicans need a working majority, not unanimity.) And with pre-teens at home, Ryan would surely want to remold the responsibilities of the speakership to involve less fundraising travel.

With those provisos, though, Ryan ought to run for speaker, and his colleagues ought to support him. To be an effective force in moving public policy in a conservative direction, House Republicans need both unity and direction. Ryan can supply more of each than they have had for some time. Ryan is understandably chary to potentially take on an office that made John Boehner so miserable. But the stakes are larger than his qualms.

## GUNS

## After Oregon

**T**HE massacre at Umpqua Community College in Oregon proceeded along lines that are by now all too familiar: the socially and romantically frustrated young

man, almost certainly mentally disturbed; the channeling of that mental perturbation into various political and ideological enthusiasms, in this case ranging from admiration for Irish Republican Army terrorists to what turned out to be a homicidal antipathy toward Christians; the disorganized family; people familiar with the young man and his family being not entirely surprised by the rampage.

Also familiar were the political reactions: the gun-control advocates rushing to the microphones before the blood had even cooled; the president’s cheap moral preening and his threat of unilateral executive action; Hillary Rodham Clinton attempting to reinvigorate her stagnating presidential campaign with talk of holding firearms manufacturers responsible for the crimes of people with whom they have no relationship whatsoever; Senator Bernie Sanders executing a brisk about-face on the same question; a hundred thousand fundraising appeals.

And, of course, nothing at all that has anything to do with the reality of murder in America.

Spectaculars like the killing spree in Oregon are in the main failures of the mental-health system rather than failures of firearms regulation. In very few of those killings would any of the proposals under consideration by Barack Obama et al. have made any difference. Many of the killers could and did pass background checks; others simply took guns from their parents or other legal owners. In many of those cases, the killers had been flagged for mental-health problems by their families and schools, and what happened next was—approximately nothing.

But even assuming vast improvements in the efficacy of our mental-health system, preventing Oregon-style killing sprees would have very little aggregate effect on homicides in the United States, because those episodes are, despite the excited wall-to-wall media coverage they inspire, exceedingly rare. Most American murders are the result of ordinary criminals’ going about ordinary criminal business; in some jurisdictions, more than 90 percent of murders are committed by people with prior criminal records—which is to say, this isn’t a failure of gun control but a failure of our criminal-justice, probation, and parole systems. (And a failure of families and communities and individuals.) It takes a special kind of foolishness to call for more gun control when a murder is committed by a man out on parole for aggravated assault with a firearm. It takes another kind of foolishness to call for new straw-purchase rules when Illinois, California, and—notably—Oregon generally fail to prosecute the straw-buyers they identify.

Most gun deaths in the United States are suicides. We have fewer than half of the murders we had as recently as the 1990s. Practically none of the murders we do have are committed with so-called assault weapons, and vanishingly few of them are committed by spree killers shooting up schools or movie theaters. President Obama’s moral theater isn’t going to change any of that—and he has never lifted so much as a pinky finger to address the real murder problem in the United States, which is much better represented in Chicago than at Umpqua Community College. If the president wants to get serious about crime, he will find Republicans eager to make common cause. But he isn’t serious about it, and neither is Mrs. Clinton or Senator Sanders.

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*If the Democrats nominate her, she will likely win*

BY RAMESH PONNURU

HILLARY CLINTON has glaring weaknesses as a candidate. The historical odds are against her goal: getting a third term in the White House for her party. The Democrats should be considered the likely winners if they nominate her.

Congress, most governorships, and most state legislative chambers: Per public to warm to her personally, but it does not appear to have any illusions that she can have anything like the charisma Obama did in 2008. Instead its strategy seems to be to bet that the Democratic party's advantage on demographics and issues can overcome

At the moment, most of the news came in 1988, when George H. W. Bush's Clinton's deficiencies as a candidate. Clinton looks grim. Her favorability ratings have been falling for four years. When Clinton officially launched her campaign on Roosevelt Island in June, straight. Fifty-three percent of Americans were slightly more likely to have an unfavorable impression of her in the latest poll average at the *Huffington Post*. In August, a Quinnipiac poll found that 61 percent of voters said she's not honest or trustworthy. Among New Hampshire Democrats, she has lagged behind Bernie Sanders in every poll released to the public since July. Clinton also lacks an advantage that Her mishandling of official e-mails as secretary of state, along with her clumsy lies about it, keeps generating unflattering coverage.

Republicans can point to other reasons for optimism. They have control of as many as 10 state legislatures, and the Democratic share of the black vote is outside of women, families, poor people, and black employees.

voters in 2016 act as they did in 2004, during the last pre-Obama election, that change by itself will erase roughly half the Democratic margin in the popular vote from last time.

Against all these reasons for optimism must be set the fact that Democrats have won the popular vote in five of the six most recent presidential elections. It may be that Republican victories in legislative and gubernatorial elections don't carry over to presidential elections for structural reasons. For example, the geographic diffusion of Republican voters helps their party win legislative seats but doesn't help them win the White House.

One common explanation for the Democrats' White House winning streak is that demographic trends favor them: Asians and Hispanics, two rapidly growing groups, have leaned increasingly left; young white voters are moving left, too, as Christianity weakens among them. Another explanation is that voters, even ones who are middle-of-the-road ideologically, think Republicans' priorities are too skewed toward rich people and big business. These are intertwined theories, since the party's plutocratic image is partly responsible for its weakness among blacks, Hispanics, and young people, all groups that tend to be less prosperous than the national average.

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# Property Rights Trumped

*The Donald's appalling record on eminent domain*

BY CHARLES C. W. COOKE

As a nominee, she would spend some time making the case for these policies. It seems likely, though, that she will spend at least as much time using them to wage a negative campaign against the Republicans as the enemies of those policies and, by extension, of their beneficiaries. She will also use Republican opposition to Obama care, including the contraceptive mandate it enabled, for this purpose. If she is running next fall, she will bank on the appeal of these policies and fear of the Republicans to keep black turnout high and increase turnout among single women, who also vote heavily Democratic.

Republicans have very little in the way of popular policy proposals to counter the appeal of liberalism. Their Republican presidential candidates, Amendment to the Constitution, but by and large, are not offering conservative ideas that would give any direct help to families trying to make ends meet (although Jeb Bush and Marco Rubio have at least offered reforms that could make health insurance more affordable for most people). Their tax-cut proposals are almost all focused on people who make much more than the average voter. So far, Republicans do not seem to be even trying to erode Democratic advantage on middle-class economics.

The Democratic nominee will also probably benefit from a slight edge with the Electoral College. Eighteen states with 242 of the 270 electoral votes need to win the White House, have voted Democratic in each of the last six elections. Some analysts call these states the "blue wall" that Republicans will not easily break through. That's overstated—Pennsylvania, which is part of that wall, has been getting less Democratic—but Clinton victory.

Finally, Clinton will need some luck to win, as any candidate does. It may not only been spared the tar and feathers of the mob, but has enjoyed a commanding lead in the Republican presidential campaign.

Clinton could, of course, be nominated and then lose. But her bet is that the liberal coalition will show up and that swing voters who do not love her to a Republican party out of touch with most people's concerns. It's not a bad bet.

**S**UPPOSE that the federal and state governments were to claim the right to take private property by force, and to do so upon the plain "public use" grounds that are laid out in the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution, but in order to help those who are in search of private profit. Suppose, too, that the Supreme Court were to endorse this preposterous supposition or temporary pander; it was an indication of who Trump is at his core. "I don't think [eminent domain] was explained to most conservatives," he later submitted on Fox News.

He, of course, grasps the issue well: Nobody knows this better than I do, because I've built a lot of buildings in Manhattan, and you'll have twelve sites and you'll get eleven and you'll have the one holdout, and you end up building around them." And what, pray, of that twelfth person? Does he have a right to this property? Apparently not, no. "If you were going [to use eminent domain] to rip down a house and build another house, no way," Trump concluded, rather self-servingly. "But if you're going to build a factory that's going to have 5,000 jobs, that's entirely different."

As keen-eyed observers have noticed, Candidate Trump does not extend to use terms such as "liberty" or "freedom" or "choice," preferring instead to talk of power and greatness and getting things done. Should we be surprised that he sees the government as a massive demolition ball? This is a man, recall, who once sought to wipe out five companies in Connecticut because he thought he could do better with their land; a man who embarked on a decade-long attempt to kick an elderly widow out of her Atlantic City home because he wanted to construct a new parking lot for his hotel; a man whose

property is at the very heart of what it means to be free—the sine qua non of ordered liberty. "Even public necessity," William Blackstone contended in 1765, must be subordinated "to the sacred and inviolable rights of private property," for a self-ruling country "will not authorize the least violation of it; no, not even for the general good of the whole community."

At this contention, Donald Trump bites his well-manicured thumb and indignantly shouts, "Pah!" For the last three decades or so, Trump has been on a veritable crusade against those who would exhibit the temerity to reject the designs of the masters of the universe in the interest of keeping their own land.

When, in October of this year, he told Fox News's Bret Baier that contemporary eminent-domain standards are a "wonderful" thing, he raised a few eyebrows—even among his most vehement backers. But this was no late-night slip-up or temporary pander; it was an indication of who Trump is at his core. "I don't think [eminent domain] was explained to most conservatives," he later submitted on Fox News.

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NR well, the right to be secure in one's



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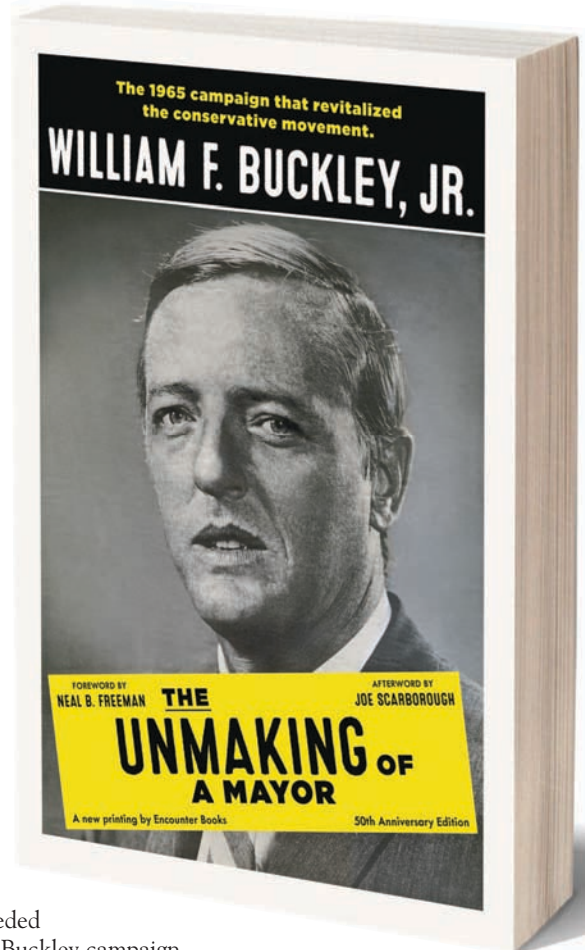
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# The Road To Better Bridges

*Take a right turn at PRIVATE SECTOR*

BY JAY WEISER

LOWER MANHATTAN'S Fulton Center subway hub and its high-tech "oculus," conceived in the wake of September 11 and opened in 2014, won numerous awards. Applauding critics were less loquacious about the construction itself: The project ran seven years late, paralyzing a downtown retail district; it was budgeted for \$750 million but cost \$1.4 billion; and, as the budget exploded, crucial features, such as a sufficient number of functional down escalators, were omitted, while the labyrinthine subway-line connections remained almost untouched.

As the *New York Post's* Steve Cuozzo observed, the \$7 billion combined cost of the Fulton Center, the soon-to-open Santiago Calatrava Ground Zero PATH station, and the proposed Moynihan Amtrak station (none of which adds mass-transit capacity) would have been enough to build a new Hudson River rail tunnel and make repairs to century-old tunnels that have dangerously deteriorated.

New York's infrastructure disasters are representative. Economist Bent Flyvbjerg has called the infrastructure process "survival of the unfittest." While developers and politicians demand more government spending, their real goal is ribbon-cutting photo ops and payoffs for politically connected groups, funded by hidden debt. Money is no object, overruns are routine, and the value of the project is irrelevant.

We can improve infrastructure with three simple principles: Maximize existing infrastructure, stop political payoffs, and privatize.

Infrastructure that adds value to a community is inherently hard to build. Developers must project demand for decades; new technologies require an "if we build it, they will come" belief.

*Mr. Weiser is an associate professor of law at Baruch College.*

relentless pursuit of an immigrant's hard-earned property led that immigrant to wonder aloud whether he'd have had more of a chance of keeping his stuff in Russia. Were a contemporary set of revolutionaries to be inspired by the Founders and draw up a list of "abuses and usurpations," the page marked "takings" would presumably be illustrated with a photograph of Donald Trump's face.

It is difficult to overstate just how dramatically Trump's approach toward private property breaks with the views that the Founders held—views that conservatives typically claim to endorse. Since the Supreme Court took it upon itself to rewrite the Fifth Amendment, our debate has largely revolved around whether the government should

are affected by it. In an essay titled simply "Property," Madison explained the thinking behind these measures. "Where an excess of power prevails," he proposed, "property of no sort is duly respected." And then? "No man is safe in his opinions, his person, his faculties, or his possessions."

Despite the best attempts of the courts, Madison's calculation lives on in the American spirit. Atypically for such a controversial decision, *Kelo* was met with a genuinely bipartisan horror. One can get a sense of just how broad the outrage was by looking through the list of states that took measures to limit the government's latitude in this area. As of today, 44 states have acted to mitigate the ruling, 22 of which

## It is difficult to overstate just how dramatically Trump's approach toward private property breaks with the views that the Founders held.

be permitted to take private property in order to facilitate private development. In the 18th century, this was not even considered, so keenly respected was the distinction between public and private. In his "Summary View of the Rights of British America," Thomas Jefferson went so far as to suggest that "our Saxon ancestors held their lands, as they did their personal property, in absolute dominion." Americans, Jefferson contended, should expect to do the same—even under a republican rather than a monarchical regime. If they did not, he warned gravely, they could not expect to be the masters of their own destiny, for if the state were able to insist upon their eviction, they would be living under nothing more than a reordered feudalism.

Jefferson's principle—known historically as "allodial ownership"—was eccentric even for the time, and did not make it into the final draft of the Bill of Rights. But, at the insistence of the more moderate James Madison, protections were included. It is for this reason that the Fifth Amendment's "takings" clause is restricted to "public use" (as opposed to the vaguer "public interest" or "public benefit"), and that "just compensation" is to be given to those who

have essentially reversed the decision as it applies to the authorities within their borders.

Given the unusually broad-based nature of this resistance, it seems feasible to marshal support for a constitutional amendment that either overturns *Kelo* wholesale or goes some way toward limiting the meaning of "public use." Typically, campaigns for constitutional amendments are quixotic. But in this instance, there is something for everybody. For progressives, such an amendment would represent a blow against large profit-seeking corporations and a victory for the powerless and the weak; for independents, it would guarantee a reduction in the cronyism that helps well-established politicians bolster their reelection chances at the public expense; and for conservatives—who wax lyrical about personal liberty and the Founders' Constitution—it would be a momentous blow for individual rights and against the central planners, the soulless rent-seekers, and the would-be tyrants who regard dewy-eyed talk of freedom as but another impediment on their thorny road to empire.

There's just one problem standing in the way: That would-be tyrant is leading in the polls . . .

NR





Lower Manhattan's Fulton Center subway hub

Construction takes years and often encourages politicians to forgo more fuel-efficient whittled down gas taxes. The project, once started, usually can't be cost-effective upgrades to existing infrastructure. With a \$1 billion capital gas-tax rate has remained unchanged.

Flyvbjerg has found that, because of cost (not adjusted for inflation), South since 1993. the players' incentives, nearly all infrastructure projects have huge cost overruns. Florida's new Tri-Rail carried only 14,800 weekday riders as of 2013. Yet, in 1904, New York's first subway runs. In order to get a shovel in the ground, proponents such as the Reason Foundation has noted, bus-rapid-transit and high-occupancy-vehicle But starting with the Davis-Bacon Act unions lowball costs and highball labor costs can cheaply and more intensively of 1931, infrastructure construction became a year-round Christmas tree for perverse incentives because politicians Maintenance of existing infrastructure interest groups. The act requires federal and infrastructure development operate costs a fraction of what building new contractors to pay local prevailing (i.e., on different time scales. To win the next election, politicians need to cut existing use patterns, but there are no mandates that a "prevailing wage" be ribbons now, while the poorly conceived infrastructure they launch will prevent rust. While maintenance offers a federally funded project. This can be a burden the public for years after they leave office.

Politicians go pharaonic to leave a higher-profile spending. Even worse, often took a year, despite Obama's "legacy," while architects and engineers with every new infrastructure project, promise of "shovel-ready" jobs. win media plaudits based on glamour photos when the project opens, not on functionality or sticking to a budget. Orleans saw a century of lavish spending. The number of favored groups for government contracts expanded to include small businesses, domestic firms (through tower suspension span, rather than as even as deferred maintenance contributed "buy American" requirements), and simpler viaduct, to replace a collapsed to the levee failure and flooding during women- and minority-controlled businesses. The last is particularly ironic, segment of San Francisco's Bay Bridge. Hurricane Katrina.

It opened ten years late, nearly a quarter century after the earthquake. Thereafter, repair wear and tear, can fund maintenance and capital replacement and dis-who, because of discrimination, were run—does not include the repeated courage inefficient use. But user fees are available to work less than the pre-fixes the structure is expected to require almost always set too low. The interstate highway system was originally supposed of the preferences generate work for design flaws. to be funded by gasoline taxes, but not by lawyers and bureaucrats. Bidders create



sham firms to take advantage of the preference for private infrastructure is no panacea, or inefficient. Take the Colorado River dams, which discourages market-rate bidders, but encourages monopoly franchises for the installation of dams more than 60 years old and owned by the federal government. They offer below-market-priced water and power, creating environmental damage and worsening the effects of the current drought.

Interest-group NIMBYism piles on of new types of infrastructure (such as cable TV four decades ago), bidders must elevate the Bayonne Bridge contributions, not just price and quality. Once they obtain the franchises, private infrastructure investors risk expropriation: The Boston subway, originally easy, but we can improve the incentives. Improving the process by which we build and maintain infrastructure won't be views for environmental impact, historic preservation, and Native American artifacts. When costs become visible so will the facts. (Raising an existing bridge will ultimately be taken over by government advantages of preserving existing infrastructure. To avoid deferred maintenance, because politicians won elections by freezing fares. fund maintenance of existing infrastructure has yet to begin.

The hazards of privately owned infrastructure can be reduced by limiting the overruns of proposed new capital projects owned public-benefit corporations monopoly period and deregulating at by budgeting them at 250 percent of estimated cost, and reflect this in the cost-accountable "expert" agencies with political demonstrated: For nearly a century, the benefit analysis before the ribbon-cutting. Public authorities are empowered held railroad rates below what was vehicle lanes, while more intensively use to build infrastructure funded by bonds needed to fund repair and replacement existing infrastructure at minimal cost, that are backed by the projected revenue. Then government-subsidized competition will suddenly look much more attractive of a project. Because authorities are free from the interstate-highway system than fixed rail. Rather than hiding infrastructure costs in public authorities, consolidated their books with those of their although, as with the Puerto Rico Electric Light and Power Authority, creditors expect the deregulation in 1980, private money borrowing to state borrowing limits. government to bail out any defaults. transformed freight-rail infrastructure. Eliminate the triple tax exemption for

Authority bonds usually have a maturity of at least 30 years, reflecting the useful life of infrastructure more efficiently than trucks do, controls improvements that benefit the projects. Because the bonds pay interest that is triple-tax-exempt (exempt from federal, state, and local income taxes), high-income taxpayers see them as irresistible money on politically mandated long-term investments—and politicians see them as distance passenger rail in low-population regions and underinvests in the high-against special interests, so can reformers. The debt of triple-tax-exempt authorities volume Northeast corridor, occasionally Eliminate set-asides for favored groups, underwrites mission creep: the reframing with woeful results, as in the recent Amtrak crash in Philadelphia. for the taxpayer, and simplify the purported economic development. Many Competition makes for winners and losers and adds efficiency by reorganizing the way infrastructure is provided. Of public authorities, for instance, are still losers and adds efficiency by reorganizing the way infrastructure is provided. Of governments should set up "one-stop long after the teams have departed. As the eleven infrastructure companies at the approvals," whereby one agency has the with 30-year home mortgages, annual creation of the Dow Jones Transportation power to grant approvals, impose hard debt-service payments are small relative Average in 1884, just one, Union Pacific deadlines, and resolve disputes.

to the size of the debt, making it easy still exists. After deregulation and a competition and attention to maintenance. Private infrastructure providers not overlook the ever-growing principal court-ordered breakup ended AT&T's competition and attention to maintenance. Private infrastructure providers not better, thanks to competition, the profit-motivated, and—critical but overlooked—ment. Then, after post-bubble bankruptcies, the industry—without government incentive to fight political payoffs that projects. And even infrastructure that we bailouts—reorganized into competing undermine infrastructure. think of as inherently public can be private carriers, which now provide privately financed: Many recent suburban proved wireless and Internet service at have looted the public till while purporting to build a better future. The first step install their own street, water, and sewer infrastructure. By contrast, most government infrastructure agencies are forever, and forever-ture is accountability.

structure agencies are forever, and forever-ture is accountability. NR

# Boldly Go

*America is ready to return to space*

BY JOSH GELERNTER

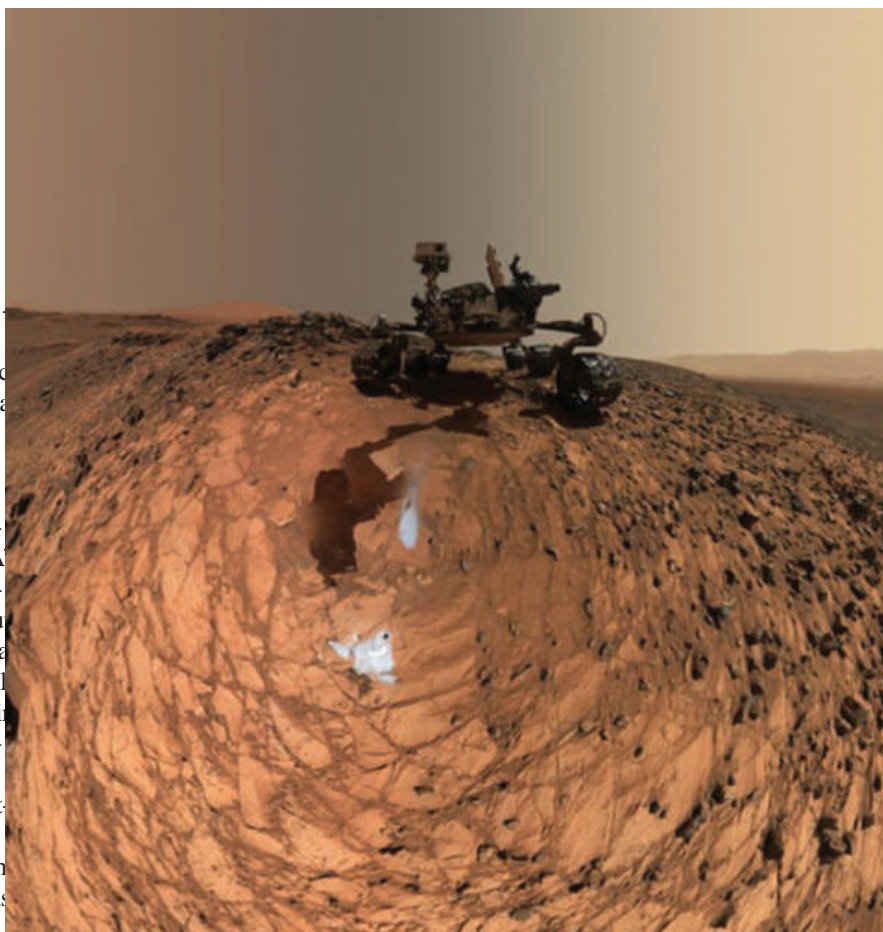
A FLURRY of space movies has fluttered out of Hollywood over the past few years. Generally speaking, movies skew toward the trivial side of the news spectrum—but the new space flicks are a national bellwether. There are good things to come.

Stanley Kubrick's *2001: A Space Odyssey* debuted in 1968. It started filming in December 1965, a year into NASA's Gemini program. Gemini was a proof-of-concept program, for NASA to figure out how to do everything it had to do to land men on the moon. And in 1965, it really did look like we were on our way out into the cosmos. NASA had successfully completed its first long-duration spaceflight, its first orbital rendezvous, its first orbital adjustment maneuvers, its first spacewalk: four of the major hurdles on the way to the moon. Nineteen sixty-five was also the year of *Mariner 4*, which took the first-ever close-up photos of Mars. When *2001* came out, we were just a year away from *Apollo 11*, and people in the Nixon

administration would soon be talking even some amusingly prescient Skype—got the Space Shuttle, which built the about America going to Mars. Kubrick's style video conferencing, and iPad—International Space Station and, for movie was a serious look at the adverse tablets. The film was a peek at years, serviced it.

Of course there's plenty of fantasy standing (as we all were) on a big pile of machine; budget cuts kept it from living up to its potential. Even if they hadn't, very well thought-out futurism. Beyond NASA paid for the moon landing with the Shuttle would never have gone further than low Earth orbit—where we went. At the speed at which space science was progressing in the Sixties, Jupiter-petition with the Soviets. After the astronaut program was an attempt to by-2001 was a perfectly realistic goal, moon landing, JFK's challenge had inspired kids the way the moon landing and Kubrick's movie designed a plausible mission to get us there. There was no moon. Politicians felt space excitement Shuttle couldn't, in hopes of creating a magic gravity button, there was a giant waning; fewer and fewer people watched groundswell of space enthusiasm. No centrifuge. There was no real-time phone each moon landing after the first was forthcoming.

ing home, because of the 30-light-minute *Apollo 18*, *19*, and *20* were canceled George W. Bush revived plans to go distance between the en route spaceship because of budget cuts. Plans for a moon to deep space; his Constellation program, announced in 2004, called for 15 minutes for anything an astronaut said to manned Venus flyby were shelved. Any to return to the moon no later than 2020 get to Earth, and 30 minutes for a reply thought of going to Mars was suffocated and to go deeper into space from there. to get back). Menial flight duties were instead we got *Skylab*—a well-meaning Democrats scoffed at it ("We have serious challenges here on Earth," said NASA's Apollo hardware—and *Apollo-Soyuz*, Pelosi) and, in 2010, Barack Obama canceled an American-Soviet joint mission and celebrated it, replacing a trip back to the moon PR stunt, which laid the groundwork for nebulous plans to go to Mars, to the International Space Station. And we can't even get away with



Mars rover Curiosity

Mr. Gelernter is a weekly online columnist for NATIONAL REVIEW and a frequent contributor to The Weekly Standard.

canceled Constellation—despite with- Constellation program). “To hell with  
ering criticism from Neil Armstrong, Putin!” cried more than a few Americans.  
among others—because there was no par- “We’re going back into space; we’re bet-  
ticular political reason not to cancel it. ter than ever!” Meanwhile *Curiosity* was  
2011 the Space Shuttle was retired, and sending home gorgeous pictures from the  
not too many people cared. Space was not mountains of Mars.  
on the country’s mind. As it turned out, Hollywood had beaten

on the country's mind. As it turned out, Hollywood had beaten  
In 2012, though, things started to catch up to the rest of the U.S. to the punch. Since

In 2012, though, things started to change. On August 6, 2012, lots and lots of people followed the first genuinely exciting space mission in years, holding their breath. The *Curiosity* rover, a mobile-laboratory robot the size of a small car, was scheduled to crash into Mars's atmosphere going 13,000 mph. A parachute would slow it down to 200 mph, but 200 mph would still be too fast to land, so the rover would drop away from the parachute; retro-rockets would carry it the rest of the way to the ground. But the rockets would kick up a dust cloud, which might harm the rover—scuttling the future of space flight.

instead of carrying *Curiosity* all the way. A year after *Gravity*—that is, last year—we got director Christopher Nolan cheerfully filming themselves as they would hover 60 feet in the air while his magnum opus, *Interstellar*, an obnoxious weave through painful-looking “tech-sky crane” lowered *Curiosity* the restlessly physics-conscious movie about entrepreneur” cocktail events, earnestly of the way to the ground. The entire leaving the solar system. It’s set in a bleak self-promoting on various websites, process would take seven minutes. On a near-future in which public schools teach gamely handing out business cards to August 6, 2012, Mars was 14 light minutes away from Earth—meaning that stunt: The hero remarks wistfully that we of San Jose—but lo, they leave a trail of when NASA, and everyone watching, “used to look up at the sky and wonder at our place in the universe and our future in it.” Construction in their wake. got word that the landing procedure had our place in the stars. Now we just look down. Well, at least they did for one brief, begun, it had already been over for seven minutes and worry about our place in the thinning moment, when the news of their minutes. Those seven minutes were dirt.” Maybe that’s how Nolan felt when the forthcoming app, People, hit the press. damned exciting. The Constellation program was canceled. People, as Cordray told *Washington*

They went perfectly, and—suddenly— He wouldn't have been the only one. *Post*, was basically Yelp for human everyone was talking about space and In theaters now, we've got Ridleybeings. If you're not familiar with Yelp, American space-greatness. And—sud- Scott's *The Martian*, based on a novel oft's a service that allows users to rank denly—everyone remembered that, since the same name by Andy Weir, about businesses on a scale of one to five stars the Shuttle had been retired, NASA had astronaut marooned on Mars. 2001- and post snarky critiques to boot.

had no way to get our astronauts into space in its careful forethought; don't be surprised if an eventual Mars mission looks a lot it does in Scott's movie. And the Grand Canyon: "As amazing as about SpaceX and the commercial-crew that Mars mission will happen, because the views are it is really kind of boring. program: Private companies were developed for the first time in 40 years, the country is every 500 ft a new vantage point of the opening new spaceships to fly our boys out, starting to see itself the way it's shown same thing: A really big hole in the of the atmosphere. SpaceX—led by the movie: as a science superpower, tough ground." Yellowstone National Park: charismatic technologist Elon Musk—and competent, willing and able, leading "Once you've seen one [geyser], you've had flown its new Dragon capsule to the way into the future. It's a good movie since them all." Yosemite National Park, ISS for the first time just two months earlier. What makes it even better is that it reflects the rocky face of El Capitan earlier. It had been an unmanned cargo the changing national mood. surges above a verdant valley like a lad-

flight, but never mind: Everyone's imagi- So when you see *The Martian*, feel free der to God: "One time, at Yosemite, I nation was sparked. Boeing was making to let your excitement run away with you had to go to the bathroom, and it was new spaceship too, an Apollo-esque cap-like a kid in bed on Christmas Eve. Then, "And another on Yosemite: "How sule, and a company called Sierra Nevada when you get home, send a letter to yabou you cut down the surrounding was developing a mini-space shuttle. And congressman asking him to increase burned trees and make another parking NASA was developing its own new capNASA's budget. Remind him that therdot or five." sule, called "Orion," along with a newre lots of places to go in this here s ' mega-rocket, called the Space Launchsystem, and that we're going to plarHeather Wilhelm is a senior contributor to the Federalist System (two surviving pieces of Bush'sAmerican flags on all of them. NR and a weekly columnist for RealClearPolitics.

# Not in Our Stars but in Ourselves

*Of Peeple and people*

BY HEATHER WILHELM

**G**ATHER around the campfire, friends, while I tell the latest fearsome tale of the wilds of Silicon Valley. It's the story of two youngish, bright-eyed women—Julia Cordray, a “bubbly, no-holds-barred ‘trendy lady,’” as the *Washington Post* called her, and Nicole McCullough, a beaming mother of two—with ambition seeping through their pores.

They may look innocent, these two—cheerfully filming themselves as they weave through painful-looking “tech entrepreneur” cocktail events, earnestly self-promoting on various websites, gamely handing out business cards to R-rated characters who loiter on the streets of San Jose—but lo, they leave a trail of destruction in their wake.

Well, at least they did for one brief, shining moment, when the news of their forthcoming app, People, hit the press. People, as Cordray told *The Washington*

Post, was basically Yelp for human beings. If you're not familiar with Yelp, it's a service that allows users to rank businesses on a scale of one to five stars and post snarky critiques to boot.

be On Yelp, there are even reviews of national parks. Here's a two-star review of the Grand Canyon: "As amazing as the views are it is really kind of boring. Every 500 ft a new vantage point of the same thing: A really big hole in the ground." Yellowstone National Park: "Once you've seen one [geyser], you've seen them all." Yosemite National Park, where the rocky face of El Capitan surges above a verdant valley like a ladder to God: "One time, at Yosemite, I had to go to the bathroom, and it was gross." And another on Yosemite: "How about you cut down the surrounding burned trees and make another parking lot or five."

*Heather Wilhelm is a senior contributor to the Federalist and a weekly columnist for RealClearPolitics.*



Now imagine this service applied to you, a living being with a heart, a soul, occasional bad hair days, a few embarrassing driving moments, maybe a case of pinkeye—and don't forget that time you had one too many margaritas at an office party and knocked over a twelve-foot potted palm and a bunch of those corporate Lucite trophies.

As the news of People scuttled, lightning-quick, through the tubes of the Internet, the world drew back united in horror. People was “terrifying,” noted the *Washington Post*. The *San Jose Mercury News* called it a “bullying-facilitation” app. “... you have been waiting for the one invention that would make hating the 21st century seem the only reasonable position,” David Rutter wrote at *Chicago Tribune*, “we have found it.”

Faced with the wrath of the tech community and pretty much everyone else on earth, Cordray and McCullough—who claim to have raised half a million dollars in startup funds—scrubbed their website. Chi Chi's *One star*.

They ducked from the press. People had always been about “positivity” only, Córdray insisted, perhaps forgetting about People's own promotional videos, can't just have been about the five-star in which she is the star. “Do they lie to all, similar things already exist: “Likes” the camera, referring to all the dreadful on personal Instagram accounts, and people in the world you can now carefully avoid, thanks to her app. “I wouldn't want this app to just be positive. We don't live in a fairy-tale land.”

In short, Cordray was publicly shamed for her app that promoted public shaming. As a result, People, despite its sordid past, will now reportedly be purely “positive.” Our short national nightmare is over.

The global flurry of People did not, of course, stop Cordray from uttering what might be the most “Silicon Valley” remark ever uttered: “With any new concept there is naturally fear,” she told the tech website Motherboard. “When the people found out that the Earth was round instead of flat and that we revolved around the Sun instead of the Sun revolving around us, naturally people were upset and confused and they pushed all back with all that they had.”

Yes, that must be it: People are simply afraid of the next great turning point of humanity. Thousands of years of human



Nicole McCullough and Julia Cordray

relentless drive—the Sumerians and the or her—traveling convenience, parental wheel; Genghis Khan and his savage con-quests; the industrial revolution; the split-child. The child, meanwhile, floats quietly

leading to an app on a glowing iPhone product with no needs. In the U.S., that allows you, finally, to tell the whole town (no, the whole world!) that Margofor multiple-parent families; several other states allow for three-parent families. Let the baby-shopping begin.

But, analogies to Copernicus aside, per- But not too much baby-shopping, please. Those who worry about global warming for a living are busy hectoring the public to limit their procreation. In this view, people are a product that consumes all, similar things already exist: “Likes” far too much—a sentient gas-guzzler with self-replicating DNA. One professor, S. Matthew Liao, director of the Bioethics Program at New York University, recently went beyond the tired, 1970s-style warn-

The true dark side of People, in fact, might come from its brazen, forward child. He got creative: Rather than try to embrace of an uncomfortable truth: More shrink the number of people on Earth, should just try to shrink people through genetic engineering. Hey, car companies do it to meet government fuel-efficiency standards. Why can't people do it, too?

The answer should be obvious: Human beings aren't just bodies, and we are not products or commodities. We're spiritual beings with inherent value, regardless of our earthly shell. Many believe that we're also the beloved children of God. But as history has shown, we're also a pretty kooky bunch, and we fall repeatedly for the same old bait. The commodification of other people—known slavery for thousands of years, and, these days, even ourselves—is just

relations, ideas, and beliefs, but at the hands of a craven capitalist superstructure, not our sometimes strange, sometimes endearing compulsion to post artsy photos of Taco Tuesday on the Internet. This makes it all the more ironic, perhaps, that these days, at least in the West, most of our human-commodification efforts seem to originate from the home of many Marxist sympathizers—that is, the cultural Left.

You can see it in family structure: Last month, the Internet went abuzz with the story of a five-person family in the Netherlands eagerly awaiting their first baby. In an interview, each of the

“parents” talks about what's in it for him or her—parental convenience, “equal rights” of access to the “equa

between the lines, like a new toy or a product with no needs. In the U.S., California passed a law in 2013 allowing for multiple-parent families; several other states allow for three-parent families. Let the baby-shopping begin.

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Marxist theorists, meanwhile, could have one of them. Be sure to add that to your review of humanity on People, please. *Three point five stars!*

NR

# What Are Your Pronouns?

*The latest craze on campus*

BY JAY NORDLINGER

IN 2003, I was moderating a “dinner panel” at the annual conference in Davos. I said that I would ask each participant “to say a few words about himself.” It crossed my mind to add “or herself”—but then I thought, “No, we’re all adults here. This is not Oberlin College. People know about English, and language generally.” I was wrong.

The first person I called on was an anthropology professor, a woman, who said, “To begin with, I am not a ‘himself,’ I am a person.” The woman next to her—her companion—burst into applause. It was vigorous, angry applause, and it was lone applause. The lady clapped for about two seconds. Then the professor continued.

This was a terribly awkward moment, and it taught me something, or confirmed something: Standard English—once-standard English—is risky business.

“To each his own,” we used to say. We did not mean anything sexual by it. We were not referring to people with male genitalia. We were referring to people. So it was with the word “man.” “What is man, that thou art mindful of him?” “What a piece of work is a man!” How about, “Man overboard!”? Would a woman, drowning, gurgle, “I am not a man!”?

Recently, Donna Braquet, the director of the Pride Center at the University of Tennessee–Knoxville, wrote the following on the university’s website: “With the new semester beginning and an influx of new students on campus, it is important to participate in making our campus welcoming and inclusive for all. One way to do that is to use a student’s chosen name and their correct pronouns.” Obviously, she thinks that “their” goes with “student”—which is very modern.

She had some advice for teachers. “In the first weeks of classes, instead of calling roll, ask everyone to provide their name and pronouns. This ensures you are not singling out transgender or non-binary students.” She also recommended that, at events where name tags are used, pronouns be printed beside names.

What are the optional pronouns, by the way? “There are dozens,” Braquet explained. These include “ze/hir/hirs,” “ze/zir/zirs,” and “xe/xem/xyr.” “These may sound a little funny at first,” said Braquet, “but only because they are new.

The *sh* and *h* pronouns would sound strange too if we had been taught *z* when growing up.” Yes, that is true.

After protests from legislators and others in Tennessee, the president of the UT system demanded that Braquet’s instructions or guidelines be removed from the university’s website. He said that they gave the impression that the new way of pronouns was mandatory. Some progressives denounced Tennessee for backwardness. They are hipper elsewhere.

At Harvard, for example, and the University of Vermont, and many other institutions of higher ed. When registering, students may indicate their PGPs, as well as other information. They can also say “no pronouns” or “name only.” So, if your name is Mike, and people refer to your room, they should not say “his room” (or “her room”), they should say “Mike’s room.” No pronouns. Name only.

What are PGPs, you ask? “Preferred gender pronouns.” I’ll let Cornell College, in Mount Vernon, Iowa, elaborate:

A preferred gender pronoun is a consciously chosen set of pronouns that allow a person to accurately represent their gender identity in a way that is comfortable for them. For example, a trans\* person may begin using a gender-neutral pronoun prior to transitioning, and a gendered pronoun afterwards, or an agender, bigender or third-gender person may choose to use a neutral or invented pronoun.

## -----Getting to Know Gender-Neutral Pronouns! -----

<b>Traditional Masculine</b>	He laughed	I called him	His eyes gleam	That is his	He likes himself
<b>Traditional Feminine</b>	She laughed	I called her	Her eyes gleam	That is hers	She likes herself
<b>Gender Neutral (Singular They)</b>	They laughed	I called them	Their eyes gleam	That is theirs	They like themselves
<b>Gender Neutral (Ze)</b>	Ze laughed (pronounced: “zee” as in the letter ‘z’)	I called hir (pronounced: “here”)	Hir eyes gleam (pronounced: “here”)	That is hirs (pronounced: “here’s”)	Ze likes hirself (pronounced: “here-self”)

# withering slights

The Bent Pin Collection  
by florence king

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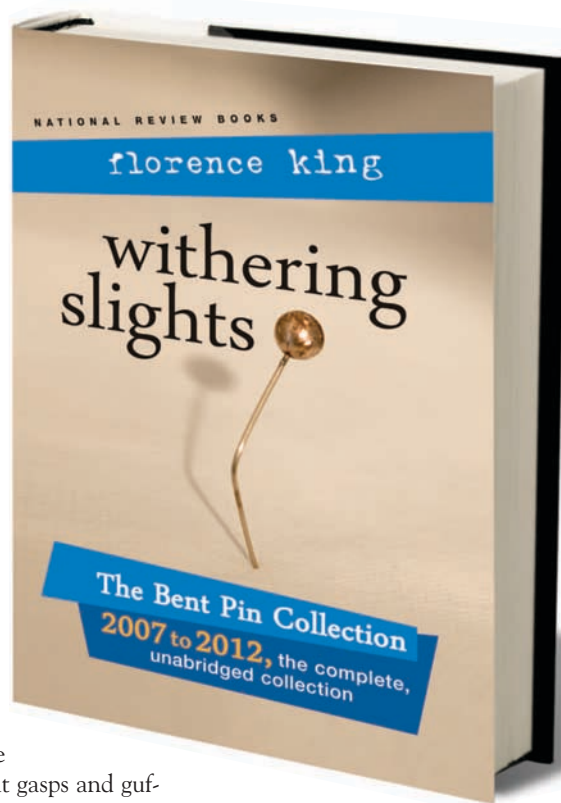
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Maybe fogeys have said this for millennia, but it's not merely that I don't quite understand the culture, I don't even understand the language. That asterisk after "trans," incidentally, does not lead to a footnote. That's the way the word is spelled.

The University of Wisconsin-Madison has some advice about how to break the ice, pronoun-wise. On meeting someone, you can simply say, "What pronouns do you use?" Or you can say, "My name is Tou, and my pronouns are 'he' and 'him.' What about you?" The university also has a word of caution: "Remember that people may change their pronouns without changing their name, appearance, or gender identity." You've gotta keep up.

And what do you do if you make a mistake? If you use the wrong pronouns in reference to someone? "Most people appreciate a quick apology and correction at the time of the mistake," says Wisconsin. But "if you only realize the mistake later, a brief apology can help." You can say, "I'm sorry I used the wrong pronoun earlier. I'll be more careful next time."

There is a whiff of the Orwellian about this pronoun business—sometimes a very strong whiff. But some of the pronoun cops try to be patient. They often counsel, "Practice makes perfect." Wisconsin says, "It can be tough to remember pronouns at first. The best solution is to practice!" A different UW, at Platteville, suggests a specific way of practicing: "We can try swapping out the gender pronouns in our favorite song with a gender-neutral pronoun, 'they,' for example, when we're singing along."

Conservative students are proving recalcitrant, naturally. At American University's freshman orientation, you're supposed to give your name, hometown, and pronouns. A conservative kid—a member of Young Americans for Freedom—questioned the need to give pronouns. The orientation leader said, "Here at AU, we don't like to make assumptions about people's gender." The YAFer told *Campus Reform*, "I actually found myself more offended by having to say my 'pronouns,' rather than allowing someone to naturally assume that I am obviously a male."

A student at Boston U, Autumn Breaz McArthur, prefers the pronouns

"they" and "them" in reference to herself (or himself or themselves). The campus newspaper follows suit. So you get sentences like, "McArthur said they believe that the lack of education at theon campus . . ." McArthur is the "they" doing the believing.

Not long ago, I was talking with a colleague about a third person, whom I had never met. My colleague kept saying "they" and "them." I got confused, so I asked, "Are we talking about one person or more than one?" A little sheepishly, my colleague said, "Just one." She was not using the third person's PGPs. She simply found it natural to say "they" or "them."

My colleague is a young woman who works at a conservative institution. So

this is not a matter of ideology but of generational usage.

In February of this year, the *New York Times* profiled a student at the University of Vermont whose pronouns are "they" and "them." The *Times* cussed the student's mother, whose child grew up as a girl but now considers herself something else. Reflecting on her acceptance of the situation, the mother said, "It's grown out of the process of really seeing how Rocko has grown as an individual and an adult, seeing how Rocko is their own person, and not a child. This is how they presents themselves to new friends and colleagues and employers and students. That group knows Rocko only that way."

You see how the language can get very tricky: "they presents themselves" rather than "they present themselves."

Words that new-pronoun advocates use over and over are "unsafe" and "invalidated." The first one is ubiquitous on campuses: Everyone feels "unsafe" and must seek safety, in some padded room or something. But "invalidated" is coming on strong. *Boston Globe* writer said, "According to researchers of gender and sexuality, some students who do not identify with the commonplace pronouns like 'he' or 'she' feel invalidated in social settings." The writer quoted an official at the University of Massachusetts-Amherst, Genny Beemyn (whose name, possibly, used to be Jenny Beeman). "It feels really invalidating to have people make an assumption about what your gender is simply by looking at you."

Let me say that people in sexual minorities, or of odd sexual conditions, have been treated badly for centuries. Some remediation is in order, or at least simple toleration and courtesy. But these linguistic contortions are absurd, and so are the hypersensitivities that go with them. Expectations of courtesy are one thing, bald impositions another.

Language evolves, everyone says. That is certainly true. And whenever someone protests or murmurs about a change, people say, "Get with the program, Gramps. It ain't your world anymore." I understand this. But I also think that changes driven by ideology are different from natural evolution.

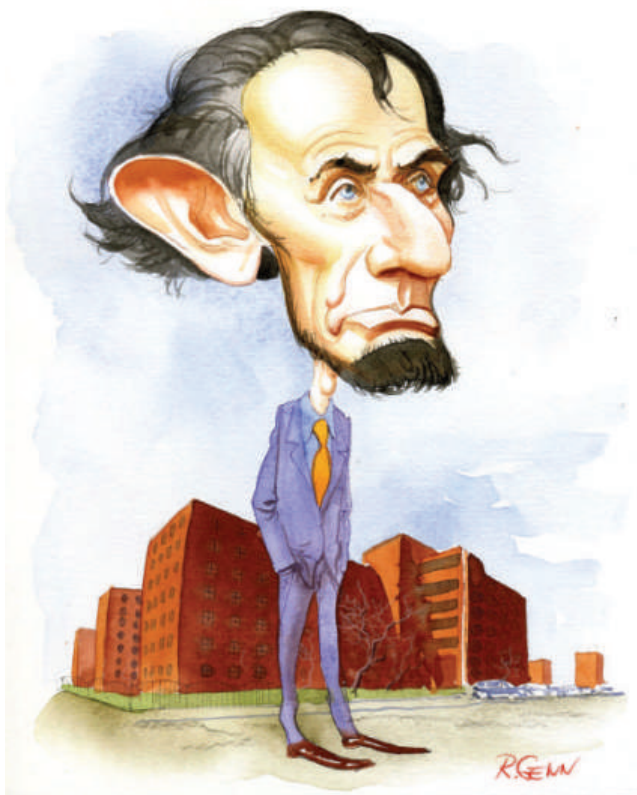
Some of the new-pronoun people cite "Ms."—which the fogeys once griped about and is now commonplace. A good point. I notice that presidential-debate moderators are addressing Carly Fiorina as "Ms. Fiorina," which they pronounce either "Miz" or "Miss" (or somewhere in between). In point of fact, there is a Mr. Fiorina—Frank—so Carly, at least in theory, is "Mrs. Fiorina." But evidently Thatcher will be the last "Mrs." in politics.

Just the other day, I used the initials "A.D." when writing about an event in antiquity. I was conscious of doing something slightly subversive—because now you're supposed to write "C.E.," for "Common Era." "A.D." and "B.C." imply Christianity, so they must go in favor of "C.E." and "B.C.E." They will, but it's hard to unteach me, when I don't want to be untaught.

At the beginning of the present school year, the Associated Press quoted a student "who identifies as genderqueer." (No idea.) She (by the evidence of her picture) said, "By now, we've figured out that sexuality is fluid, gender is fluid. I think that we're at the beginning of it all." Will "ze," "xyr," and the rest catch on, like "Ms."? Or will they be the hobby of a few, like Esperanto? We will see.

To me, the new pronouns are ugly and soulless, like robot language. I also think that today's obsession with sex, self, and identity is terribly damaging—to individuals and society. But I suppose my attitude should be laissez-faire: You don't be a language cop over me, and I won't be a language cop over you.

To each their own? Xyr own? **NR**



# Civil-Rights Republicanism

*How the GOP can appeal to black voters—and why it should*

BY THEODORE R. JOHNSON

**I**N October 2012, just as presidential campaigning had reached fever pitch, I was raking leaves in the front yard of my northern-Virginia home when I noticed a pack of volunteers clad in “Romney 2012” T-shirts canvassing the neighborhood door to door, engaging residents and drumming up support for their candidate. When my house was next in line, I set aside the rake and started down the driveway toward the group. They walked right past me without so much as a friendly smile or neighborly “Hello.” How curious. Returning to my yardwork, I watched as they dutifully stopped at my neighbor’s house and deposited campaign materials at the front door. And then the band made its merry way down the road.

As a black guy, I couldn’t really fault the group’s practical decision. After all, why spend time and campaign resources on me when nine in ten blacks routinely vote for the Democratic presidential nominee and when the nation’s first black president was seeking reelection?

But as an American, I was furious. The message this group conveyed was that my vote—the right to cast it was one of

many rights of citizenship I spent a career in the military protecting—was not worth pursuing. The snub meant they were unable or unwilling to make a case for their candidate because I had a different appearance. So much for party outreach. Perhaps I’m being too sensitive about this. To see bigotry in a run-of-the-mill slight is to buy into the prevalent but lazy narrative that the Republican party is racially intolerant—a parlor game of zero interest to me.

There is no disputing, however, that the GOP has a problem connecting with black voters. So this episode is symptomatic of the larger, enduring issue. It’s not that the party has tried and failed to attract black voters; it’s that it has largely disregarded them. The effect is the Republican cession of the black vote to the Democratic party.

GOP attempts at black outreach are inconsistent and repeatedly undone by inadvisable strategic communication choices and a basic callousness about the black experience in America. Jeb Bush’s recent comment that he would give African Americans “hope and aspiration” instead of bribing them with “free stuff” is a prime example. This sentiment—one that casts the black electorate as a soulless and indolent bloc up for sale to the highest bidder—is as pervasive among some Republicans as it is spurious.

*Mr. Johnson is a doctoral candidate in public policy at Northeastern University and a former White House Fellow.*

ROMAN GENZ

But the blame does not fall solely on the Republican parties of black Americans and Jim Crow laws depriving black Black voters have allowed themselves to be cordoned off into citizens of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, blacks the Democratic party. Obviously, it was an easy choice for blacks to look for a party to represent their civil rights and economic rational, well-informed, and newly empowered black voter interests. The Democratic party responded by leading on the the 1960s to prefer the Democratic party once President Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Voting Rights Act of 1965, and a Lyndon Johnson's Great Society legislation further enshrined most of social programs that insulated black Americans from into law blacks' equality and rights of citizenship. But since the capricious destructiveness that racial discrimination had then, partisan loyalty has kept blacks from confronting both unleashed on their lives.

parties with policy demands and from forcing a competition Black voters remained true to their principles of civil-rights between the two parties for their votes. protections above all else; it was the parties that had changed.

This is the current state of the African-American electorate as in the previous era, but this time with roles reversed, The Republican party ignores it and the Democratic party takes blacks supported Democrats because the Democratic party it for granted. They have done so for years. "The painful thought for equality and civil rights in the face of Barack is that in 1972, presidential candidates are either taking the opposition, exemplified by Barry Goldwater's vocal disapproval of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The stark polarization as *Newsweek* political correspondent Stephan Leshner put it in the black electorate is a function of the evolution of the parties' stances on civil-rights protections. Period. There is no the *New York Times* over four decades ago.

But here's the good news: We're approaching the dawn of a new era. For the past 150 years, history has shown, black new, post-Obama era, when blacks vote at higher rates than whites, political allegiance is not to a party but to equality and the whites do and are frustrated that neither party has paid adequate rights of citizenship. It really is this straightforward and quote attention to their concerns. The votes of citizens dissatisfied. And this obsession with equality is uniquely and isfied with both parties are up for grabs. Without the first black inherently American, arising from the same revolutionary president in the equation, an engaged black voting bloc is a spirit that established the nation.

primed for a pitch from new faces in both parties. The Republican lesson for the GOP today can be found in the one period publican who is strong on bedrock conservative principles as the early 20th century when there was a contested black well as civil-rights protections will win the support of black electorate. From the 1920s until the mid 1940s, the parties' voters at levels the party hasn't seen in generations—I call civil-rights platforms were either essentially indistinguishable

or considered unimportant. In "Platforms and Partners: The Civil Rights Realignment Reconsidered" (2008), Brian D. Feinstein and Eric Schickler examined decades of party state-

**E**VERYTHING the Republican party needs to know about the African-American electorate is bound in this one truism: Once civil-rights protections are guaranteed, early 1920s "until approximately 1946." During that period, African Americans will feel free to vote in accordance with blacks' party identification was evenly split between the parties. When black voters could not identify fundamental differences in the parties' civil-rights policies, other issues drove their varied economic and social interests.

This simple truth is mostly obscured by the party's fundamental differences in the parties' civil-rights policies, other issues drove mental misunderstanding of black people and what motivated their political support. their voting decisions. Many Republicans have largely accepted, The lesson is obvious. Remove civil rights as an issue and and even perpetuated, the false narrative that black Americans blacks will be more inclined to support the party that best represents their other interests. In their politics and in their views with social-welfare programs and unearned benefits. Blacks on social and economic policy, black voters are not monolithic. overwhelming support of Democratic candidates is assumed to be proof that the policy views of black voters are identical with every other racial and ethnic group in America. This has those of the Democratic party. That assumption could not be not been easily observable because of the salience of civil rights but can be seen from even a cursory look at state refer-

How we arrived at this point is no mystery. In the decades following their freedom from slavery, black Americans were Republicans can win black votes by first understanding that Republicans to the very limited extent to which they could black experience in America demands reassurances that the participate in the political process. This solid allegiance was equality of African-Americans is not subject to political whims attributable almost solely to President Lincoln and their electoral strategies. To assume that the Constitution is the Republican congressmen who championed the 13th and 14th only guarantee that blacks need is to ignore history. The 14th Amendments and passed the first set of civil-rights laws Amendment, after all, did not prevent the "separate but equal" during Reconstruction. The first generation of those who doctrine or statutory Jim Crow. It took a century for the nation could accurately be labeled African Americans supported the grant to blacks the citizenship rights the Constitution Republican party because it fought for their equality and had established.

civil rights when the Democratic party actively opposed That being the case, all that the GOP must do to win the sympathy of many black voters is affirm the importance of civil-

Following President Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal and rights protections, long enshrined in the Constitution and President Harry Truman's desegregation of the military, black numerous pieces of congressional legislation, and make no voters began drifting toward Democrats. In the wake of lynching effort to undercut them. For blacks, "civil rights" is not a code



word for affirmative action, racial quotas, and unfettered pecuniary handouts. Once the party of Lincoln and Teddy Roosevelt fully appreciates that, it will see just how simple it is to dismantle the wall between itself and African Americans.

**T**HE primacy of civil rights for black voters has obscured their other political concerns. Polls show that the issues most important to blacks, across a wide range of ages, incomes, and levels of education, are crime and the economy—unemployment, poverty, and health-care costs. But, as with all Americans, liberty is their highest priority. Because of the black experience in America, civil rights more heavily influence black voting behavior.

The African-American electorate is the most active racial or ethnic voting bloc in the country. Its voter turnout as a percentage of the total black population has increased by more than 13 percentage points in the past two decades. (In contrast, white-voter turnout as a percentage of the total white population has decreased by 3 percentage points in the past decade.) In 2012, for the first time in history, black-voter turnout was higher than white-voter turnout.

## In short, there are now **two versions of black America**—the haves and the have-nots.

Blacks over the age of 25 are the driving force. They are the only demographic that has grown in each presidential election in the past 20 years. Further, more than half of blacks over 25 have some college education, and almost a third are in managerial or professional jobs.

African Americans' buying power, a measure of disposable net income, is \$1.1 trillion, and black-household income is growing fast. Nearly one in five black households earn \$75,000 or more. And Nielsen reports that between 2000 and 2013, the aggregate income of all African-American households has increased by 45 percent.

This incredible success has been accompanied by the declining state of the black underclass. The black poverty rate is more than twice that of whites, and almost four in ten black children are growing up in poverty. Poor black families live in segregated neighborhoods, and their children attend de facto segregated schools, concentrating poverty and despair. Black unemployment still exists at a recession-level 10 percent, despite national unemployment rates of roughly 5 percent, meaning that blacks are unemployed at twice the rate of whites, as was the case when the March on Washington took place in 1963. Only 38 percent of black households consist of two-parent families. The median black household has only 6 percent of the wealth of the median white household.

Because poverty and criminality dominate the narrative about the African-American experience, misperceptions persist. African Americans have been typecast as preferring a large government role in addressing their concerns. Through that lens, it appears that the Republican principles of hard work, individualism, personal responsibility, and self-determination would be unappealing to the typical black voter.

But the truth is that, more than any other race or ethnicity, African Americans believe that the American dream is attainable with hard work, according to a poll released in July by the Aspen Institute and *The Atlantic*. Any hope that the GOP has of attracting black voters hinges on its ability to substitute that truth for the stereotype that blacks prefer to be dependent on government.

That there is growing socioeconomic inequality within black communities is confirmed by an ongoing research project conducted by Harvard government professor Jennifer Hochschild and Yale political-science professor Vesla Weaver. Investigating the significance of race and class in politics, they have found that racial segregation has decreased in metropolitan areas but that class segregation has increased. Middle-class and affluent blacks have moved away from blacks living in poverty. With respect to social status—wages, work, housing, and schools—the black experience in America is more heterogeneous than it was several decades ago.

In short, there are now two versions of black America—the haves and the have-nots. Hochschild and Weaver's research shows that, in 2013, black intra-group inequality was the highest in the nation. That has given rise to demon-

strable policy splits among blacks. College-educated blacks show less support for government services, crime control, and spending on poverty programs and are more likely to believe that their voices are heard and heeded by government officials. While most blacks agree on policy priorities, their differing experiences have created a divide on the best method to address them. This is the age-old tension between conservatives and liberals.

On the whole, African Americans have begun to lean toward conservative principles regarding redistribution. A recent paper from the National Bureau of Economic Research (NBER) found that African Americans are less supportive of racially targeted aid, increasingly likely to believe that economic outcomes can be attributed to hard work, and increasingly likely to oppose redistributive programs. In other words, African Americans are increasingly coming to believe that the nation is a fairer place than it once was and that race does not play as large a role in their economic lives as it once did.

Even affluent blacks, however, are aware that their socioeconomic position is tenuous. As Harvard sociology professor William Julius Wilson notes in a recent article, though the unemployment gap between black and white college graduates was just over 1 percent before the 2008 recession, by 2013 the difference was 7.5 percent. Blacks, even the well educated, have disproportionately borne the brunt of the economic slowdowns. When the bottom fell out of the housing market, blacks were harmed most, as they watched a generation of wealth wash away along with respectable credit scores. This influenced their ability to refinance their homes, start small businesses, and even obtain PLUS Loans for their children's college tuition.

All of that influences the decisions of black Americans about which party and which candidates to support. Though their

individual experiences differ, race plays a significant role in how, reparations, and redistribution. But those are not civil rights issues. As detailed in the NBER report, blacks have significantly decreased their support for such aid relative to other groups. The term “civil rights” must be understood in its original sense: one’s success is contingent on the success of the group and nested in constitutionalism.

That belief is the first job of civil-rights Republicans is to redefine the whole—an idea colloquially known as “linked fate.” That belief motivates African Americans to subordinate personal policy preferences and individual economic interests to the civil rights of the overall group. Republicans have allowed themselves to be branded as uniquely intolerant, sometimes through their words and actions and other times through their choice to remain silent.

The remedy is consistent and outspoken civil rights Republicans who clearly speak out against those in the party’s base; then they must make the case for the party’s base; then they must make the case for the party’s base. For example, when Donald Trump says that blacks have no spirit, and when Bush says that blacks vote for whoever promises the most “stuff,” civil-rights Republicans should immediately and forcefully condemn the remarks, without mincing words. A Chamber of Commerce and a group of black elected leaders, of such public defenses of African Americans, including the African-American Mayors Association. The mayors’ counter-narrative to the branding problem the party currently faces.

As a matter of policy, civil-rights Republicans should differ from the party’s current practice in one major respect: They should pay close attention to ways in which existing and proposed policies disproportionately harm African Americans. For example, whites are more likely to sell drugs and as likely to get arrested for drugs. Or consider voting rights. Since the Supreme Court’s decision in *Shelby County v. Holder*, many states have implemented voter-identification laws targeted at reducing voter turnout. Many of these laws have made voting more difficult for many blacks. Civil-rights Republicans should stress the importance of stemming the criminalization of black people by opposing factions—industry and the federal government—and seek to prevent the disenfranchisement of blacks while still honoring the right of states to enact measures that reduce crime and considered. But the overarching concern about civil rights fraud, to the extent that it occurs.

Civil-rights Republicans should also take aim at disparate impact. Though this concept is usually associated with housing policy, it applies in general to policies that are likely well-intended but are in their implementation, disproportionately harmful to minorities. Disparate impact lies at the heart of most African Americans’ policy concerns.

Blacks aren’t for affirmative action as much as they are for equal treatment in all aspects of employment—hiring, promotion, retirement, and layoffs. Blacks aren’t for redistribution as much as they are for equal access to opportunities that will improve their social and economic status. Blacks aren’t for policies that are weak on crime as much as they are for a criminal-justice system that treats all Americans the same. So, to attract black voters, civil-rights Republicans don’t need to champion liberal policies, but only to ensure that conservative policies don’t leave blacks behind.

Republicans also have yet to take note of the other side of the coin—positive disparate impact, or propitious impact. Just as it is important to examine where policy specifically fails blacks, examining black voters will require highlighting those conservative policies that help them. Criminal-justice reform, for example, is consonant with Republican values, as it promotes better use of taxpayer dollars and curbs the overweening state. And it disproportionately benefits African Americans, who constitute a disproportionate share of the incarcerated population.

CIVIL-RIGHTS Republicans are the future of the party. They are the only candidates who will bring blacks and other minorities into the GOP in numbers sufficient to keep it competitive for decades to come. Civil-rights Republicans are as they are for equal access to opportunities that will embody and extend the party’s best traditions of inclusivity and make their social and economic status. Blacks aren’t for policies that are weak on crime as much as they are for a criminal-justice system that treats all Americans the same. So, to attract black voters, civil-rights Republicans don’t need to champion liberal policies, but only to ensure that conservative policies don’t leave blacks behind.

Insofar as being pro-civil rights has come to mean favoring wealth redistribution based on race, the term “civil rights” has been hijacked. The current prevailing perception is that civil rights are incompatible with social and fiscal conservatism, small government, and personal responsibility. This is wrong.

In truth, to be pro-civil rights means only to be in favor of equality with respect to the rights of citizenship extended to all Americans, regardless of race. Yes, some blacks support a disproportionate share of the incarcerated population.

Or consider over-regulation. The Republican party is committed to eliminating it. Removing regulations that hamper job creation and economic growth in metropolitan areas, which tend to have large black populations, is another policy with propitious impact. Accordingly, an attractive case for it can be made to black voters. Industry has led that charge, but rights Republicans should join it.

But, as important as reducing disparate impact and increasing propitious impact are, policy isn't enough. Republicans should also seek opportunities to engage with African Americans. Candidates and elected officials should meet with predominantly black audiences, large and small, and dispel the notion that the party is unconcerned about them.

**E**NGAGEMENT is a two-way endeavor. It introduces African Americans to Republicans, and it familiarizes Republicans with African Americans at the grassroots level, militating against stereotypes. Each side's showing a willingness to listen, learn, and find common ground. It also provides an opportunity to air grievances directly, rather than through the filter of the press or the mouthpieces who may not be truly representative of the party or the people. Only through honest conversations can interlocutors discuss the nuances of policy and cut through the noise of caricature.

Republicans should achieve these goals through a pragmatic electoral strategy, particularly in presidential campaigns. A modest increase in support among black voters in certain areas could deliver the presidency to the Republican party in 2016. Five states will be particularly important: Florida,

Ohio, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, and Virginia. In 2012, they were decided by slim margins, with Obama winning all of them but North Carolina. Obama won Florida's 29 Electoral College votes by fewer than 75,000 popular votes. As the *Wall Street Journal* has pointed out, if Romney had won 10 percent of the black vote there instead of 4 percent, he would have flipped the state. The same goes for the other four states were similarly small.

The electoral strategy must not be limited to winning more black votes but should also demonstrate how conservative governance can produce better outcomes for black citizens. This is necessary because when black voters are dissatisfied with a Democratic candidate or especially pleased with a Republican candidate, their turnout decreases. Studies show that black voters stay home because, though they might prefer the particular Republican candidate, they (out of loyalty to the Democratic party) don't want to vote against the Democratic candidate and (because some Republicans are insensitive to race) don't want to vote Republican, on principle.

So the calculus is clear. For every ten black voters who choose not to vote, the Democratic candidate loses votes, and the Republican only one, if we assume that those who stayed home would have broken for the Democrat in roughly the same proportion as the black vote breaks for Democratic candidates generally. When this effect is coupled with a Republican candidate who competes for the black vote more effectively than Republicans do, the path to victory is evident.

Moreover, Republican tactical cynicism, real or perceived, increases the black vote, and increases it for Democratic candidates.

Consider, for example, North Carolina. It passed the Voter Identification and Verification Act, placing new restrictions on acceptable forms of identification, early-voting availability, and same-day registration. Many black voters perceived the aim of voter-ID laws to be the suppression of their vote, and as a result, the 2014 midterm election saw the highest levels of black-voter participation in recent state history. Lamentably, some Republican strategists prefer a different approach, arguing that simply increasing white-voter participation to 75 percent or higher would ensure victory for Republicans. Such an effort would amount to doubling down on Nixon's "southern" strategy in 1968, which alienated minority voters by appealing to white fears. We are seeing some of the markers of this strategy in today's presidential campaigns, with some candidates harshly criticizing Hispanic and Asian immigrants for coming to the United States to commit crimes and have "anchor babies," while others broadly declare Islam to be incompatible with American values. There will soon be no minority group left for any to alienate. Who's next, the Irish?

The Republican party will be far better off over the long term if it reclaims the mantle of properly enforced civil rights. To the Republican party it reiterates: That means speaking out against racially disparaging remarks, calling out policies that have a disparate impact on minority voters, promoting policies that have a propitious impact, and executing a committed, focused engagement strategy. Taken together, these straightforward steps will change the way the party is perceived among black voters and increase its share of the black vote.

**T**HE gulf between the African-American electorate and the Republican party is the result of a vicious cycle. Black voters are used to discounting Republican candidates because Republicans are used to ignoring black voters, and vice versa. Both sides hear what they want to hear and rarely sit down to listen to each other. As with any other bad habit, this one can be broken only with resolve and determination.

Fortunately, the time and sociopolitical conditions are nearly ideal for Republicans to begin refashioning blacks' perception of their party. Blacks are less than enamored with the current Democratic presidential candidates but primed to bet on active and to be courted by both parties. They have begun expressing views that align with conservative principles and wish to elaborate on them once the basic questions of liberty and civil rights no longer overshadow every other consideration. And they are increasingly exasperated by insinuations from both parties that they require governmental mothering to America.

Civil-rights Republicans who approach black voters with respect and sincerity can win not only their votes but also those of other minorities and of independents. Such a Republicanism will be truer to the nation's founding ideals of liberty and equality and will continue the work, begun by Lincoln, of making those ideals a reality. If on the other hand, the Republican party declines to take up the nation's unfinished work, it will not only miss an opportunity to do what is right. It may sustain political injuries from which it will never recover.

NR



# Chairman Priebus

*The Republican National Committee leader  
has left his mark*

BY TIM ALBERTA

**O**n a sunny Friday morning in January 2015, Reince Priebus stood inside the main ballroom of an elegant Southern California resort wearing a conqueror's smile. The 42-year-old Wisconsinite, a placid-looking lawyer, had earlier that morning been elected to a historic third term as chairman of the Republican National Committee. It was a formality; the GOP's governing body, composed of a committeeman, a committeewoman, and a chairperson from each of the 50 states and six territories, was firmly under Priebus's command. The vote had been nearly unanimous—166 to 2—and when the tally was read, Priebus had received an extended standing ovation inside the Hotel del Coronado.

Yet at this moment, he was reveling in a wholly different accomplishment.

As Priebus looked on, RNC members were being briefed on a series of recently approved reforms to the Republican party's 2016 presidential-nominating process. These changes—compressing the election calendar, passing rules to prevent unauthorized states from scheduling their primaries too early in the year, moving the convention up to mid July from late August, cutting the number of debates in half and making sure conservative media would participate in them—had all been spearheaded by Priebus in service of an overarching objective: an orderly primary season that would produce a nominee as quickly as possible, with minimal damage from intraparty antagonism.

Priebus was no stranger to shaking things up. In his first four years as chairman, the RNC had pursued sweeping changes inside the party apparatus. He began in 2011 by cleaning up the GOP's books, erasing some \$24 million in debt by Election Day 2012. He made major investments in technology and data analytics that have now, finally, introduced some degree of parity with the Democratic ground-game juggernaut. And, following Mitt Romney's 2012 defeat, Priebus appointed five veteran Republican officials to write a self-critical report charting a path forward for the party—particularly on the matter of attracting minority voters.

Now, on the heels of a GOP triumph in the 2014 midterm elections, Priebus saw streamlining his party's nominating process as the final step to restoring its national viability. His success in shepherding these reforms has been a political revelation; in an age of super-PAC bonanzas and unlimited soft money, Priebus is sure—and has assured others—that no outside entity can fill the role of a national party machine, and that only by strengthening the machine can Republicans hope to win the White House.

"The difference between the party I walked into and the party we have today is that we're ready for a national election," Priebus says in the course of a lengthy interview. "We live in a candidate-crazy party to the detriment of the mechanics. And our biggest

accomplishment has been convincing people in our party that the mechanics in a presidential election are just as important as having a great candidate."

"If the RNC of 2012 was in the kind of shape the RNC is in today," says Ron Kaufman, the committeeman from Massachusetts, "Mitt Romney would be president of the United States."

In 2012, Republicans had ineffective data systems, meager statewide organizations, no prescription for attracting ascendant demographic groups, and a nominee who limped into the general election after being bludgeoned in a marathon primary contest that included 20 debates and competitive elections from early January to mid April. Four years later, the party will have state-of-the-art technology, full-time field operations in every battleground state, an outreach blueprint that might yet be enhanced by a bilingual nominee, and a primary season that will start in February and end—theoretically—in late March. This was the master plan, drawn up and executed to near-perfection, that had Priebus beaming that January morning.

And then 17 candidates, including Donald J. Trump, entered the race.

The result, thus far, has been a primary season featuring the sort of self-inflicted wounds that Priebus hoped a truncated schedule would avoid. Trump declared his candidacy by offering sound bites about Mexican "rapists" and then proposed scraping birthright citizenship. Jeb Bush, once resolute not to be yanked rightward à la Romney, clumsily used the phrase "anchor babies" when reacting to Trump and later gave an equally ham-fisted assessment of women's-health funding. Ben Carson seemed to suggest that a Muslim shouldn't be president. All of this four months before a single vote is cast.

Amid the predictable Republican hand-wringing, some are now second-guessing Priebus's reforms, wondering whether an enormous field competing in a condensed primary calendar might protract the race. Others have suggested that the RNC should be more assertive in denouncing Trump or any other candidate who harms the GOP brand. But by and large, Republicans praise Priebus, saying that he's done his job—putting the party in a position to win—and the rest is up to the voters and the eventual nominee. "I think Reince is handling this well. There's no crisis here," says Stuart Stevens, Romney's 2012 campaign manager. "It's a big, chaotic country. Getting elected president is a big, chaotic process. This isn't a wedding we're putting on. It's an election."

The questions now are: Will the candidates avoid giving one another lasting scars? Will they gracefully exit upon realizing their improbability of winning the prize? Will voters resist fracturing the party and instead rally behind a nominee regardless of his or her ideological warts? And will that nominee be someone with broad appeal, someone with the capacity to fully deploy the operation Priebus has prepared?

These questions are out of the chairman's hands. And yet the answers will determine not only his party's fortunes but his legacy as its leader.

**T**HE job nearly wasn't his. Deep reservations clouded Priebus's candidacy as committee members gathered at a Washington-area hotel in January 2011 to elect a chairman. On one hand, party officials admired his accomplishments as head of the Wisconsin GOP, which had taken back the governor's mansion and regained Russ Feingold's Senate seat. But

*Mr. Alberta is joining NATIONAL REVIEW as chief political correspondent.*

Priebus had also until recently served as general counsel for unpopular incumbent RNC chairman, Michael Steele. A group of veteran members plotting to oust Steele had recruited Priebus, a fundraising whiz with an agreeable personality, to challenge him. But plenty of their colleagues were skeptical about replacing embattled chairman with his onetime right-hand man.

"As the campaign wore on, it's clear that Reince's key weakness was his closeness to Steele. But we knew that while Reince was loyal to the chairman who appointed him, he didn't fight with him constantly," recalls Kaufman, who was elected to the RNC in 1988. "People liked that he was an inside critic of what was going on there. And he didn't grandstand about it."

It took seven rounds of balloting—after the fourth of which Steele dropped out—for Priebus, then only 38, to take the helm of the Republican party. His first order of business after his acceptance speech: grabbing a beer in the hotel lobby with Steve Anuzis, the longtime RNC member from Michigan who finished as runner-up to Priebus. It wasn't surprising, Anuzis recalls, because "during the last couple months of the campaign, Reince and I spoke almost every day," comparing notes about their platforms and talking strategy. Running to lead an organization rife with factions and infighting, Priebus had gone out of his way to

communicate breezily with all of his opponents throughout the campaign. It was a preview of his management style. He began dumping tens of millions of dollars into data processing and technology development.

"Being the party guy he is, he knows the importance of keeping the 168 [RNC members] happy at all cost," says Steele. But the biggest changes were yet to come. Girding for a good old-fashioned internecine rumble, Priebus began going from member to member, making the case that in order to achieve a competitive balance with the Democrats, Republicans had to function with the members. I thought I had good relationships with them, but not all of them embraced me. He had to mentally alter the way they chose their nominee.

"Steele was a bull in a china shop. Reince is less confrontational and more of a consensus-builder," says Anuzis. "There was a lot of internal strife within the committee. Everyone knew Michael Steele created a lot of enemies inside Washington, and that made it difficult for him to function. Reince had a unique perspective on that and learned from it." He continues: "Reince immediately reached out to a lot of people and asked them to participate in any way they could. He was very inclusive, and that was part of his early success. It earned him a lot of good will."

What endeared Priebus all the more to the members was his ability, demonstrated immediately upon taking the reins, to manage the RNC's finances. Having campaigned on his strong relationships with donors, Priebus wasted no time in digging the party out of its financial hole. He was known to spend six hours soliciting donations on the telephone and would open a Miller Lite from his office refrigerator when the calls late into the evening. His work paid off: Left with less than \$800,000 in cash on hand when he took over, Priebus's RNC raised north of \$400 million for the 2012 election—besting the DNC by more than \$90 million—and ended the cycle with \$6 million in the bank. He had the chairman was hell-bent on "taking back control of the party," says Steve Duprey, the New Hampshire committeeman who chairs the RNC's debate panel. The mission, as defined by Priebus and Duprey's committee, was threefold: reducing the number of debates, spreading them around the country to reach battleground states, and introducing a conservative-media element to counterbalance what many party officials saw as biased moderating in 2012. The party also instituted a strict new policy under which any candidate who participated in an "unsanctioned" debate—one not organized by the RNC—would be banned from all party-approved debates.

Romney lost the election, of course. But the party chairman was nobody's scapegoat. In fact, Priebus's performance—raising eye-popping sums of money, erasing the debt, introducing a bottom-up management style—afforded him latitude to further remake the committee. Priebus seized the opportunity, immediately commissioning that high-profile "autopsy" report to determine what had gone wrong in 2012 and how to fix it. The chairman recognized that the states had been organizationally starved, and he embraced the onerous task of erecting full-time GOP field staffs across the nation. He also



DEBATES would become the first victim of Priebus's overhaul. Having watched Romney get elbowed uncomfortably towards the right throughout a seemingly endless string of appearances—including one back-to-back affair, with candidates on stage Saturday night and then again Sunday morning—the chairman was hell-bent on "taking back control of the party," says Steve Duprey, the New Hampshire committeeman who chairs the RNC's debate panel. The mission, as defined by Priebus and Duprey's committee, was threefold: reducing the number of debates, spreading them around the country to reach battleground states, and introducing a conservative-media element to counterbalance what many party officials saw as biased moderating in 2012. The party also instituted a strict new policy under which any candidate who participated in an "unsanctioned" debate—one not organized by the RNC—would be banned from all party-approved debates. The RNC settled on nine debates from August to February, reducing the possibility of up to three additional debates in March, depending on the state of the race. It planted one each in the early states (Iowa, New Hampshire, South Carolina, Nevada) while including swing states with diverse demographics (Ohio, Colorado, Florida, Wisconsin). Each of the debates would include some conservative questioning, either from outside panelists such as radio host Hugh Hewitt) or, in the case of Fox News,

from the trusted anchors themselves. And, despite some early threats, no candidate violated the sanctioning rule—mostly because Priebus made a late, quiet push for the network to include “undercard” events at the first two debates, removing temptation for the excluded candidates to meet elsewhere.

Of course, Priebus made enemies in the process. Second-tier campaigns flooded the chairman and committee members with complaints, suggesting that the system was being rigged to insulate “electable” candidates from insurgent challengers. And Republican leaders in the early states, long accustomed to big money as they hosted multiple debates in each primary state, gripped about forfeiting a revenue stream.

“The debates are hugely profitable for the state parties. But the greater good of the national party says South Carolina GOP chairman Matt Moore. “Reince Priebus’s headlining a hectic start to the primary season, he’s sure everyone understood that.” Moore recalls Priebus phoning him several years ago after he was elected state chairman, advising him to boldly pursue any reforms that would help the party: “Don’t be afraid to kill some sacred cows.”

Priebus, meanwhile, had another cow in his crosshairs. Convinced that the primary calendar in 2012 had gotten drawn out, the chairman would compress the primary-election schedule to limit the infighting and select a nominee as quickly as possible. That meant starting the contests in February instead of January, moving the convention up to mid July from late August, and changing the delegate-allocation rules to let winner-take-all elections begin earlier in 2016 than they had in 2012. As a result, Priebus is the general election. He says of January, “no chance” he will run for a fourth term as RNC chairman, whatever the outcome of the 2016 election—a Republican wins and appoints an ally to run the RNC, which becomes the political arm of the White House, or a Democrat wins and the RNC begins soul-searching anew—it will be time for him to return to the national committee in 2008 and 2012 to reduce the offload of states’ allocation of delegates to the national conventions. That means next November looms not only as a de facto judgment on the country’s direction but also as a de facto judgment on Priebus’s legacy as the head of the Republican party. The RNC designated February as the month in which the early-voting “carve-out” states (Iowa, New Hampshire, South Carolina, and Nevada) would hold their primaries. To deter other states from jumping ahead and holding primaries in February too, Priebus instituted a harsh penalty: The non-carve-out states would see their national-convention delegations slashed to single digits if they held a contest before March 1. But he also provided an incentive: The states could hold a winner-take-all primary in mid March, when the nomination might still hang in the balance, whereas in previous cycles, those delegate-rich contests could be held only in April or later, by which point a nominee had already emerged in every cycle since the 1970s.

On paper this calendar seemed likely to achieve the aim of a shortened, orderly primary season. Yet it was devised by a man who knew that 17 candidates (now down to 15) would be running. And the size of the field now has Republican officials concerned about unintended consequences. “Compression can work in one of two ways: Either it speeds things up so you get to your nominee faster, or it fractures the race so you never get a nominee,” says Randy Evans, a committee member from Georgia. “Super Tuesday [on March 3] is supposed to help speed things up after the carve-out states get us to a nominee. But what if Cruz wins Texas [March 3], Jindal wins Louisiana [March 5], and then you go to the take-all states [on March 15], and Kasich wins Ohio, and Rubio wins Florida? Then what?”

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## New Lamps for Old

**N**EXT week's shocking headline: BEN CARSON COMPARES BUSH-ERA ENERGY POLICY TO NAZI GERMANY.

How would that happen? Simple. Let's back up a bit. A while ago I had an issue with a timer that controlled some external lights. An electrician said the wiring wasn't up to the holy code, and he'd have to put in a small metal box and charge a large fee. I got a pang in the left buttock where the wallet is located, as though Andrew Jackson were trying to chew his way out and protest, so I asked whether there was an alternative.

Sure: dusk-to-dawn timers in the individual sockets. I said I'd tried that. They flickered. They went dark for an hour, then sprang to life as though they'd just remembered a forgotten appointment. He asked a question no one would have asked 20 years ago:

What kind of bulb do you use?

Well, CFLs. Compact fluorescent. The pig-tailed glass tubes that save the planet. Each one offsets the CO<sub>2</sub> emissions belched out in 0.00000000000001 seconds by one car—if it's a hybrid. For a while the entire house was on CFLs, and this probably reduced the melting of a glacier by 0.053 micrometers, which meant the polar bears would have more time to evolve into something with gills and webbed feet. Fish-bears! They're the future, if we act now.

The problem with the CFLs, of course, is that they emit a ghastly light that makes a morgue look like a candlelit café, and they contain mercury. For many years we were taught that mercury was a horrid poison. Don't handle it! Don't look at it! If you drive an old Ford Mercury, trade it in! Now! Then CFLs were introduced, and the narrative changed: Please, if you could just bring as much mercury into your house as possible, and distribute it to every room . . .

Eventually the quality of CFL light improved, and you had a range of hues from Morgue to Stasi Interrogation Cell. But! Science marches on, and LEDs came in. Expensive at first, because the Chinese factory had to bribe local officials to let them pour 40,000 gallons of antimony into the river. LEDs were better. They looked like normal, ordinary, bygone light-bulbs, and the light had different hues. There was Bright, which was like a movie-premier searchlight and let you look at your arm and marvel at the network of vessels and bones; Daylight, in the "staring at the sun" sense; Soft Light, which had a tint you could describe as "smoker's teeth"; and so on.

After lots of trial and error, I've converted the entire house to LEDs, and everything is nice and crisp and operating-room white. When I put in the wrong LED, suddenly it looks as if the bulb were sunk in a vase of diluted urine.

So when the electrician asked which kind of bulb I had, I knew. CFLs, because I'd recently put in dusk-to-dawn timers and saw the tell-tale curly shape. "Well, there's your problem. They don't work well with timers. Not enough resistance. Take a look at timers that are CFL-compliant."

Off to the hardware store, where there were two such timers. Both in packages that had been opened, returned, and restocked. That's a good sign. Installed them. Same thing. Twitchy flickering light; no attention span. But! What if I put an LED light in? Same thing. But! What if I put in . . . an incandescent bulb?

And here you drew in a sharp breath, didn't you. Incandescent bulbs? But—but they're ungood wrong-bulbs. Perhaps you imagine me taking out my incandes-

cents from a hiding place, like Winston Smith removing his diary from a spot in the wall where the telescreens can't see. No, I didn't have a 100-watt. Perhaps the store carried some, if I asked in a low voice and flashed some greenbacks. They did not. They had halogens, though. I bought these. Installed them. Same thing. Flicker blink dark STEADY LIGHT! Then nothing.

Everything went back to the store. While searching around for another bulb to replace something in the garage, I found a 100-watt incandescent, and it was like an artifact from a lost era. A civilized *belle époque*. I cradled it in my hands like a doorknob from the *Titanic*,

something rare and precious the likes of which we shall not see again. Because the store doesn't have them. For the good of the earth.

I plugged in the old bulb. It worked. It'll only burn for a few months, but then I can replace it with another—

Oh, right. There aren't any anymore.

I like choice, and lots of it. I like new technology and more efficient tools. But buying a light bulb was once a simple, straightforward thing, and now you are required to go through these maddening rigmaroles because of the Federal Light Bulb Rigmarole Act, which frowns on incandescents. Everyone in Washington went along with it so the progressive media wouldn't call them anti-science and pro-global warming. It wasn't enough to offer a good alternative. We had to have the incandescent taken away, and it's one of a hundred examples of the Great and Glorious State poking you in its chosen direction with mandates and bans.

And if Dr. Carson pointed out that the bulb ban was a fine example of the way the State shapes your life with incremental diminutions of your ability to choose, you'd get the headline about comparing the bulb policy to Nazi Germany.

Of course, he'd probably mention the Nazis outright, but if he didn't, the headline writer would help him out. **NR**

The problem with the CFLs, of course, is that they emit a ghastly light that makes a morgue look like a candlelit café.





# The Long View

BY ROB LONG



Text

## Memorandum

CONFIDENTIAL

TO: POTUS  
FROM: MEDIA TEAM  
SUBJ: MANHOOD

We've digested and analyzed the focus-group results from our week-end surveys, and have compiled those along with the results of our snap cellphone poll Sunday night. Taken together, these form a pretty accurate picture of where the American voter is right now.

The good news, sir, is that you continue to score well in all traditionally supportive groups. The "Obama Coalition" remains strong: Government Union Members (GUMs), Young Pre-Voting-Age Americans (Preevees), Millennials (Millies), Traditional Democrats (TradDems), Muslim Radicals (MusRads), Millionaire Feminists (MillFems), and University Employees (UnivEmps) remain firmly supportive of your policies and performance.

UnivEmps and MusRads are currently showing the steepest erosion, but much of that can be attributed to UnivEmps activities surrounding the start of the school year, which is traditionally a time when they focus on teaching new and returning students the newly approved language above the 90th percentile. While this engagement with current events. And MusRads had a higher-than-usual non-response rate to our pollsters, probably reflecting family preparations and general activities during the Al-Hijra/Muharram holidays, in addition to being preoccupied with planning spontaneous acts of vio-

lent domestic terrorism and demonstrations against anti-MusRad bigotry. When we take both numbers again at the end of the month, we should see you returning to your unshakeable. At one point, a GUM soaring popularity with both groups. As we've noted before, UnivEmps older female SEIU members in lead-and MusRads form the cornerstones of our voter outreach. When focus groups in the GUM category were led through a series of issue-by-issue questions, their support became even more solid and what they interpreted as "negative"

What troubles us, though, is that, as is evident in the breakdown of the polling numbers—and confirmed by focus-group discussions—there seems to be a sense among some Obama Coalition voters that there is what we are calling a Manhood Deficit with regard to foreign affairs. TradDems own left hand. So GUM support remains firm.

used words like "Jimmy Carter" and "weak" and "prison b\*\*ch" when asked to describe the relationship between POTUS and Russian Federation leader Vladimir Putin. In any event, neither group has registered an awareness of events in Syria or Iran, or any familiarity with economic-growth stagnation, crime-rate increases, Vladimir Putin, or the word "powerful" increases, Vladimir Putin, or the word "Caitlyn."

For "Barack world in general. Both groups associated you and your administration with the popular pop singer Beyoncé. Among MillFems, especially (and this is particularly odd, as this is not a usual concern of this cohort), there is a strong feeling that your current foreign stature has become "feminized, and we mean that in a bad way," by its interactions with good news.

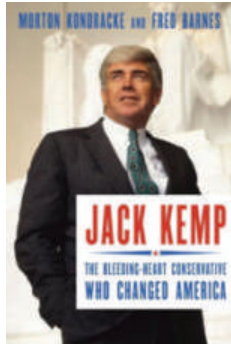
Aside from the Manhood Deficit Putin, who scores well in "Has Leadership Qualities" and "Would Be a Tough but Fair Dad" and "Wouldn't Kick Him Out of Bed for Eating Triscuits" categories. (The support from a fast-growing group of voters, Trump Sympathizers who self-identified as "gay" (TrumpSymps), who, when polled on the specific issues, remain enthusiastic about your national health-care

The good news is that GUMs remain solidly supportive, at or plan and your frequent use of non-constitutional federal authority. While this may seem like a drop in support—we do not currently track TrumpSymps earlier surveys of Government Union in our weekly surveys, as they continue to develop into a powerful and vocal group advocating progressive and TradDem policies, we will monitor them for signs of support. Attached, please find the quantified results. The Media Team

# Books, Arts & Manners

## Neither Tarnished Nor Afraid

JAMES P. PINKERTON



*Jack Kemp: The Bleeding-Heart Conservative Who Changed America*, by Fred Barnes and Morton Kondracke (Sentinel, 400 pp., \$29.95)

In this new book, veteran journalists Fred Barnes and Morton Kondracke make a strong case that the late Jack Kemp (1935–2009) was “the most important politician of the 20th century who was not president. They are probably correct in their assessment; partisanship, of course, might differ, but then, let them write their own book. And even Rayburnians would have to agree that Kemp was hugely consequential in his time. The unresolved question, then, is how he should be regarded today.

In their book, clearly a labor of love, Barnes and Kondracke declare that Kemp “embodied a spirit sorely missing in today’s politics—in both parties. Kemp was positive, optimistic, idealistic, energetic, growth- and opportunity-oriented.” As the co-authors tell it, Kemp deserves credit “for not only pulling America out of the deep malaise of the 1970s but also for helping to win the

*Mr. Pinkerton, a White House policy aide to Presidents Ronald Reagan and George H. W. Bush, has been a Fox News contributor since 1996.*

Cold War and convert much of the world to democratic capitalism.” And once again, that’s certainly true. But in linking Kemp to what they call “big-government conservatism,” they underscore the reality that in today’s politics, Kemp would be seen as “unrealistic” and “romantic.”

So where did Kemp come from? And what was the origin of his belief system? He was born in Los Angeles in the middle of the Depression; but his father, Paul, by dint of hard work, made a success of his trucking business, overtook Ronald Reagan, Kemp always maintained a soft spot in his heart for organized labor; he referred to collective bargaining as “a sacred right.” By the force of his example, this spoken father must have made a deep impression on his four children, including Jack, the second youngest.

Yet by all accounts, it was his mother, Frances, who was the spark in the family. U.S. News, National Review, the Wall Street Journal, and books.” Indeed, he might well have been the only pro football writer Barnes and Kondracke, the ball player to attend the free-market “assertive intellect.” Raised as a Christian seminarian of the Foundation for Economic Education, where he was assigned with the universalistic ethos of the Hayek, Mises, and Friedman.

American dream; they believed in, and in 1970, after a solid career in professional football, Kemp was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives from Buffalo. The biggest domestic issue back then was “stagflation.” So Kemp went to work, combining his mother’s idealism with his father’s conservatism, along with a hard-work ethic that can only be called “Kempism.”

And so we enter the most interesting part of the book, as well as the most consequential period of Kemp’s career, the 1970s. Kemp spearheaded the supply-side revolution of the Seventies. Kemp must be a complete man and a confidant in with young-Turk economists like Arthur Laffer and Robert Mundell, who preached an economic doctrine of loose fiscal policy, tax-rate reductions, and tight money. This was nearly the opposite of the orthodoxy of the era, but in those times, something had to be given. When Laffer drew his famous Curve on a napkin in a New York City restaurant, the nascent movement had its rallying cry. Jude Wanniski, an editorial writer for the Wall Street Journal, published a groundbreaking piece in 1974 titled “It’s Time to Cut Taxes,” and the



epic battle over “supply-side econom- was nominally on the side of the As he ended his presidential bid, well ics” was joined. Someone could write a Hoover-Goldwaterites in his 1976 shy of the nomination, he closed with a whole ‘nother book on Wanniski as per presidential campaign, and yet as h Churchillian flourish: “Success is never haps the foremost “policy entrepreneur” geared up to run again in 1980, final. Failure is never fatal. It’s courage of the age. As the authors slyly recompe time with Kemp and Wanniskithat counts.”

“Wanniski played a double role: asoming away a convert. As the authorsMeanwhile, other conservative figures Kemp’s speechwriter and a journalistassert, Kemp was thus the “John thewith different ideas—perhaps bleaker, covering Kemp.” Baptist,” paving the way for the Reaganperhaps cannierabout human nature—

They add: “Under Wanniski’s influ-revolution. It was Jack Kemp, theame onto the scene. In 1992, Pat ence, Kemp beame a tax cutter firsthappy warrior, who preached and conBuchanan, the anti-Kemp, declared that and a budget balancer hardly at alkwerted. As Newt Gingrich put “In a America was in the middle of a “culture Indeed, as Kemp toldrtune in 1978, real sense, Jack brought love into thear,” a vision that went against Kemp’s “I don’t worship at the shrine of Republican arty. He loved people. Hecheery grain. And Newt Gingrich deftly balanced budget.” No kidding. Indeed,loved life.” divided America into two irreconcilable

perhaps the shrewdest shorthand sum- Yet Kemp had weaknesses, andvisions, “liberal welfare state” and “con- mary of supply-side was that it wasBarnes and Kondracke tend to glosservative opprtunity society,” and bade kind of inverted deficits-are-good over them. His wife, Joanne, is dAmericans to choose. The result was the

If there’s a young Jack Kemp out there, let him or her full inspiration from **Kemp’s noble life and policies**—and also learn from his many mistakes.

Keynesianism—and this writer heard scribed in the book simply as “a saint1994 Republican landslide, which gave it from no less than Wanniski himselfhich might leave some readers hunHouse Republicans the victory that a number of times, in the Eighties. gry for a fuller description of their hKemp never could.

Kemp knew he wlaouting Republi - century marriage. Yet even so, Kemp’s prestige was still can orthodoxy—and that he would Moreover, the co-authors tend togreat. In 1996, his longtime nemesis need allies in his insurgency. Never gloss over Kemp’s political mistakes, inside the party, Bob Dole, swallowed member of the tax-writing House Wayst at least missed opportunities. At hisard and asked Kemp to join him on the and Means Committee, he went wapeak, in the early Eighties, Kemp chosea tional ticket. It’s fair to say that Kemp outside channels, all the way to theot to run for the U.S. Senate, nor didor not exactly shine as Dole’s running U.S. Senate; he teamed up with Senatthe governorship of New York. Winningate; his oldproblem of indiscipline Bill Roth of Delaware to reprise thether of those offices would havon the campaign trail was particularly guiding idea of the Kennedy tax cuts greatly enhanced his political career.manifest in his weak debate perfor- the Sixties—that is, across-the-board Instead, he was content to remain nance against DemocrAl Gore. rate reductions.

Such reductions were anathema toremember: In electoral politics, fortuneinspire. His speeches—his lengthy the Republican Old Guard of thefavors the bold. speeches—increasingly ranged beyond Hoover-to-Goldwater stripe. And if Yet as an intellectual force, Kempax-rate reductions into other topics, that caliber of opposition made winhad no peer. Thepic 1986 Tax Reformfrom the fate of Soviet Jews to proper- ning unlikely, well, that’s just a rAct, which lowered tax rates to levels rights in the Third World to inner- minder of how exhilarating it was tot seen since the 1920s—part of city empowerment. Kemp ended up be part of the supply-side movementworldwide wave of tax-rate reductionslike Chandler’s Phil Marlowe: ad - in those days. To borrow Wordsthat has transformed the planet—surelymired, even imitated. But he would worth’s famous evocation of the revostands as the culmination of Kemp’snever be president.

lutionary spirit, “Bliss was it in thareer. It stands also as the vindication“We have written this book,” the dawn to be alive.” of the Barnes-Kondracke thesis. authors explain, “because we believe

Indeed, some members of the Old The rest of Kemp’s career was somAmerica is in trouble, perhaps more Guard were converted to Kemp’s newwhat of a sputtering anticlimax. He radeely in trouble than in the 1970s. thinking. One such was former senatorfor president in 1988—and was no aAnd we think that Jack Kemp’s spirit— Bill Brock (Tenn.), who chaired thetar. He overdressed for the campaign and his policy ideas—could again help Republican National Committee from trail, sporting foppish gold tie pins, andurn the country around.”

1977 to 1981 and did as much as anyre ominously, he talked too much. Maybe. Let’s hope. If there’s a young one to make supply-side economics theAnd on the campaign trail, Kemp, alwaysack Kemp out there, let him or her take new party orthodoxy. his mother’s son, made it a point full inspiration from Kemp’s noble life

But the big “get” for the supplyside to lecture southern white audiance and policies—and also learn from his siders was Ronald Reagan. The Gippences on civil rights. many mistakes. NR

# The Sacrament Of Pity

FLORENCE KING



*Rosemary: The Hidden Kennedy Daughter,*  
by Kate Clifford Larson (Houghton  
Mifflin Harcourt, 320 pp., \$27)

**L**IKE death and taxes, Kennedy books have taken on an inevitability all their own, but if you are thinking “Not another one!” don’t be so fast. This one, about the family’s mentally disabled daughter, takes a fresh and often merciless look at the wall they built around introspection that made it impossible for them to confront their insecurities.

Rosemary Kennedy was born at home, but there was nothing ominous about that. Home birthing was still widespread in 1918. The first two Kennedy children, Joe Jr. and Jack, had been born at home with no ill effects. The practice could be rough on the poor, but for those who could afford it, it meant a house call by a prominent obstetrician and round-the-clock prenatal services from his specially trained obstetrical nurses. Joe Kennedy, already a rich man and getting richer by the minute, had escaped Irish Boston to a house in the Protestant suburbs and turned it into a virtual obstetrical hospital. Rose had a full-time nurse to take all her signs and vitals until labor started, whereupon the doctor would be called to come and deliver the baby.

But babies wait for no one. Because of the Spanish flu raging in Boston, the

doctor was running late when Rose’s pains began. She had the nurse with her, but, by the rules of the elite arrangement, an obstetrical nurse, who had been trained to deliver babies, was not allowed to do so. Only doctors could deliver babies, so when Rose’s labor began, the nurse became understandably nervous and tried to distract her, urging her to ignore the pains and fight back the natural urge to push. Joe Kennedy had paid for a doctor, not a midwife, so the nurse knew she had to keep the baby from being born until he got there.

Kate Clifford Larson’s description of how she did it, like her many other descriptions of hideous wrongness committed by the Kennedys for Rosemary’s good, has the compelling urgency of screenwriting. The “baby began entering the birth canal and Rose could not resist the need to push with each more forceful contraction. . . . Then the baby started crowning, a crucial point in the birthing process.” When the doctor still did not arrive, “the nurse demanded that Rose hold her legs together tightly in the hope of delaying the baby’s birth . . . and when that failed the nurse resorted to another even more dangerous practice: holding the baby’s head and forcing it back into the birth canal for two excruciating hours” until the doctor finally arrived.

It was well known that preventing the movement of the baby through the birth canal could cause a lack of oxygen, exposing the baby to possible brain damage or physical disability, but the medical niceties had been observed. (And, Larson adds, the doctor could have the nurse delivered the baby.)

Rosemary looked healthy but was soon lagging behind in crawling, walking, feeding herself, and other developmental signs, until it was obvious that she was “different.” That was enough for Joe, to whom “different” was the ultimate trigger word. Being different meant being Irish instead of Brahmin, Catholic instead of Protestant, rejected instead of accepted: “He had long vowed never again to be subjected to the outsider status—nor would his children be. They would excel in everything. He would spend his life grooming them to be accepted into those insider circles,

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*Florence King can be reached at P.O. Box 7113,  
Fredericksburg, VA 22404.*

and he would not risk having any other children's colds and shots. It was later said that he always feared she would falter." In short, he saw Rosemary much more, a multicolored archive of would do something embarrassing). as a threat.

Rose also had an unacceptable reac- growing interest in industrial efficiency. on her to convince himself that he did tion that would be consigned to the The Kennedy home was Rose's factory, not consider her a threat. Efforts to Kennedy insight-shredding machine: boardroom, warehouse, shipping cen- avoid strain for Rosemary's sake put a She identified with Rosemary, who was ter, and sales floor, and Rosemary, lag-strain on everybody.

said to "lag behind," something Rose ging behind, was the bad product who Their only respite came in, of all herself had been forced to do by her own mad to be redesigned.

places, England. When Joe became our father. As mayor of Boston, "Honey Until her teens, Rosemary lived with ambassador, Rose found an ideal Fitz" Fitzgerald had encouraged Rose's the family and attended at least five Catholic school deep in a rural county musical talents and intellectual bent and different small special schools found 30 miles south of London. It was a had promised to send her to Wellesley, through the Church or the efforts of the Montessori school, part of an educa- until the archbishop told him he would childless Eddie Moore, Joe's right-hand tional system then and even now con- be seen as catering to the upper-class man in politics and business, who knew sidered by some to be permissive, built Protestant hierarchy and lose Irish sup- the truth and was also Rosemary's god-around ungraded classes geared to the port. Rose, he said, could not be seen as a father. Rose was not always entirely student's abilities regardless of age. a "New Woman"; she had to go to truthful about the extent of the girl's dif- Rosemary fit in at once and did really Catholic convent college and become a faculty, letting the teachers discover it well for the first time. Rose was so Child of Mary, a member of a secular for themselves. She learned to read delighted to be rid of the lagging-behind order that personified the "virgin little and write simple sentences in a aspect that she decided to have her pre- brides, modest wives, and qanly scrawling lopsided hand, then went home sented at Court.

mothers" of the Church. to learn how to be a Kennedy amid It was an unforgivable crime to sub- Rose obeyed—she always would—but Rose's dinner-table quizzes. Her sib- ject her to the nerve-destroying ordeal, far from lagging behind like Rosemary, lings were enlisted to show her what but if photographs alone could tell the she became the fastest Child of Mary social life was like—the sisters teaching tale, Rosemary was the family's star out of the starting gate. Let the New her how to apply makeup without daughter, by far the prettiest, with no Woman have a career in the profes- smearing the lipstick and the brothers signs that she was bred in tooth and jaw sions, she would become a Professional taking her for brief appearances at prep-by Kennedys and Fitzgeralds. She was Mother. Larson breathes new life into school dances, then whisking her back also buxom, which the rest were not. the familiar story of Rose's card file on home and returning to the dance (Jack Her only bad moment came when she

stumbled in her curtsy to the king and queen, but she caught herself in time and otherwise performed perfectly.

Rosemary's good days in England could last only as long as her father lasted as ambassador, and that was not going to be very long. His flatly stated opinion that England was finished and would be defeated by Hitler's Germany offended everyone except his eldest son, who agreed with him. Joe Jr., who had attended Rosemary's presentation, admired much about the Third Reich, especially its policy of sterilizing the mentally unfit. "I don't know where the Church stands," he began carefully, "but . . ." His father listened without comment, then proceeded to talk about "the Jews, but . . ." This incredible detachment persisted after

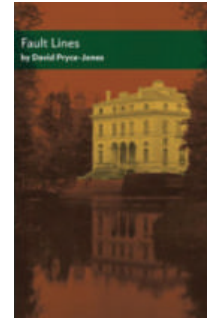


Kathleen Kennedy, mother Rose Elizabeth Fitzgerald Kennedy, and Rosemary Kennedy



# The Lost Continent

DANIEL JOHNSON



*Fault Lines*, by David Pryce-Jones  
(Criterion, 368 pp., \$25)

war was declared and Rose had to take the mentally slow, the generally in- the younger children and Rosemary sane, the sexually insane, and the crim- home. Germany was going to win, heinallly insane, all preyed upon by husband told her, but "when things setsadistic keepers. tle down here under any regime," the Nobody cared what happened to them nuns at the Montessori school wouldexcept members of the Eugenics Move - be delighted to have Rosemary back.ment that so won Joe Jr.'s approval. "That he was sure his daughter couldLarson includes an excellent thumbnail return and live in a totalitarian statdhistory of the group and names some under a fascist government intolerant names: Theodore Roosevelt, John D. of people with disabilities reflects hisRockefeller, and Andrew Carnegie were increasing disconnect with the English the most prominent, but Margaret people and with his own democraticSanger, founding mother of Planned government," Larson writes. Parenthood, goes unmentioned.

After three blissful years of progress Rosemary's last home was a private at her own pace, Rosemary returned tñstitution in Washington from which she Kennedy upheaval, uproars, upstaging, escaped. Tall, strong, and increasingly and one-upmanship. She degenerated violent, she overpowered her guardian fast, until November 1941, when sheand evidently forced open a window. She was lobotomized.

Larson, the author of this superb2 A.M. Now the fear of a sex scandal, book, is a consultant for various musealways present once she had grown up ums and public-history projects on thebut never talked about, could no longer role of women in our national identitybe ignored. At last Joe saw Rosemary as Her son was diagnosed at age 19 as aathreat. If she were raped, impregnated, schizophrenic, so although she sees or kidnapped and forced into prostitution, through the Kennedys she also seeseverything he had done and planned forpect that few are fully aware of the com- with them. Knowing what it is like this family, especially the political careerplex and cosmopolitan background of confront private problems complicated of Joe Jr., whom he intended to make this distinguished English man of let- by public attitudes, she includes excel-first Catholic president of the Unitedters. He was born in Vienna in 1936; his lent summaries about views on mentalStates, would be ruined for good. Jusmaternal ancestor was a Jewish banker, health in early-20th-century America. how long he had considered the possibilityhis paternal one a Welsh mail-order

It was a bad time to have a child like a lobotomy is not clear, but the speedagnate. As a refugee from the Nazis, Rosemary, because there were no nameswith which he arranged Rosemary's sayshe had lived through more adventures for her. "Retarded" was still in the futuremuch. It was done on November 28by the age of six than most of us have in people said "backward" or "slow," but1941, at George Washington University a lifetime. And he has continued to throw himself into the thick of global "simple-minded," which soon became The records are still there, but nævents ever since. All this he recounts in all-purpose slurs, as did the official med-names are attached, just numbers. *Fault Lines*, which must surely rank ical designations of "idiot," "imbecile," Larson could not find out the numberamong the liveliest, wittiest, and most and "moron." Worse yet, there was littlèbut it doesn't matter. Using her vastcolorful World War II memoirs ever real distinction between mentally slow research into the operation, she relateswritten. and mentally ill.

Even churches could be a problem.keep the patient awake with only local79, Pryce-Jones belongs to a generation "At that time," Larson notes with ironyanesthesia, the terror he feels when hèthat was just old enough to be aware of "the Roman Catholic Church routinely hears the drill cutting his brain in halfthe world-historical catastrophe unfold- refused the sacraments of holy commu-his gagging screams, the doctor urginging around it. Nobody younger will have nion and confirmation to intellectually him to recite the ABCs or nurseryany firsthand knowledge of the earth- disabled children, especially those with rhymes, his own responses becoming quake that reshaped our world. The Down syndrome. . . . Did Rose questionever slower and more garbled as hisbook's title ingeniously evokes both the a religion that would have excluded hebrain falls apart.

child from some of the most holy of Larson's style is so vivid and power-ground to the narrative and the author's Catholic sacraments?" ful that we want to read it throughlifelong need to take principled posi-

If the Kennedys kept their disabledspread fingers like a jury looking ations on political issues. child at home, so did most Americansautopsy photos. I was wiped out when I All the characters if*Fault Lines* are albeit for different reasons. There sim-finished the book. Here is a writer whknown by their first names, and usually ply were no institutions, and what fewrejects today's penny-ante responses of by nicknames or diminutives. "Poppy" there were resembled what one rareempathy and compassion and compels survivor called "Purgatory," dank hold -us instead to receive humanity's sacra-Mr. Johnson is the editor of *Standpoint*, a London- ing pens for an indiscriminate mix ofment ofpity. NR based political and cultural monthly magazine.

is David's mother (really Thérèse). Only in England, where David finally the author's father and sometime editor "Mitzi" is her mother, the baronin, arrived in September 1941 after a two-of the *Times Literary Supplement*. Fault "Jessie" his nanny, and so on. With so year separation from his parents, did the *Lines* passes over Alan's own autobiog- much genealogy, a family tree would owners of stately homes preserve ves-raphy, *The Bonus of Laughter*, in have been helpful; but what is depicted iges of their pre-war idyll for a few ilence, but the present volume is both a here is much more than an extended more years. If the world of Downton or corrective and a reckoning. It is clear family: It is a cross-section of Europe's Abbey simply faded away, that of that David had a complex relationship pre-war aristocracy, both landed and in Meidling, Royaume, and their Jewish with his father, not helped by the latter's tellectual; the financial elite, *das* inhabitants was suddenly and brutally bisexuality, concealed all his life and *Finanzkapital*; and the haute bourgeoisie, destroyed. Even the works of art care-even in his obituaries when he died 15 *das Grossbürgertum*, the leisured class. fully collected over generations and years ago, and their literary rivalry, Pryce-Jones sums up very well their confiscated by the Gestapo vanished which ended only when the Ford unique combination of sophisticated without trace: Only one of the pictures Foundation facilitated Alan's emigra- entitlement and precarious vulnerability: ever resurfaced—in Vienna's famous tion to the U.S. He settled in Rhode "Not quite Jewish and not quite Christian public gallery, the Belvedere. Pryce- Island and spent the last four decades of not quite Austrian and not quite French Jones tells us that when, after fighting his life there.

or English, not quite heterosexual and his claim for decades, the curators were Pryce-Jones Senior seems to have not quite homosexual, socially conven- forced by the courts to return the pain been quite a chameleon: from youthful tional but not quite secure, here werang, they added insult to injury by trying oseur, cruising around 1930s Paris in a people not quite sure what their inherito persuade him that he had a morahilie where makeup, drugs, and rent tance required of them."

Much of the story he has to tell David adored his dreamy mother, codebreaker in wartime, to literary man- revolves around houses: the grand ones Poppy, who spoke and wrote in about-town in grim and grimy post-Blitz where his mother's family, the Fould-delightful fusion of English, French, London, pursued by a duchess ("Mid - Springers, had their establishments and German: "C'était très gemütlich." night Mollie" Buccleuch) while secretly (chief among them Royaume, a She also adored the child she had soon sorting with American sailors and Cistercian abbot's château near Paris; nearly lost to the Nazis: "David is vergent boys.

Meidling, a huge estate in Vienna adjoin intelligent," she wrote soon after his David's discovery of his atlier's ing the imperial palace of Schönbrunn; return. The book begins dramatically other life put an end to early hero wor- and Montreuil, the "dream house" near with the story of her death, soon after ship. The poet John Betjeman, who Le Touquet that ultimately became the the 16-year-old boy had spent an Alpinknew Alan as well as anybody, com- Museum of Hope, on a whim of the vacation with her, blissfull unaware pared him to an onion: "You peel off the baronin), but also more-modest villas that her always delicate health had sudskin and there's always another skin. and lodgings, where David and his denly taken a turn for the worse. A ph Those who don't love him think that nanny found refuge on their flighttograph of her with David shows them after the last skin there'll be nothing. across the Continent. Pryce-Jones is smiling in the snow, the petite Poppy We who love him know there is some- good at evoking these contrasting ambi-looking more like his elder sister than thing but what it is we shall never find ences; indeed, he seems to have an envhis mother. Three weeks later she had but." David did find out, however, that able, almost photographic recall of succumbed to cancer.

everything that happened in his child- A maternal substitute who emerges write a report about him: "In this view I hood. Without this firsthand recollec- with great credit from this story is didn't love Alan, and the reason was tion of events with Proustian precision, Jessie, the faithful nanny who brought very simple: He wasn't rich enough." his book would be a chronicle of far David home in 1940–41 from Vichy Another old friend, Noel Annan, told away places of which most people now France via Franco's Spain, Salazar's David: "You do realize, don't you, that know nothing.

The memoir is based not only on per-U-boat-infested Atlantic. A little old One of the many Rothschilds who sur- sonal knowledge—his own and that of lady in an old-fashioned cloche, she face here indiscreetly repeated to the his surviving cousins—but also on a wrote letters to Poppy that reveal a author his father's poignant question: large family archive, which has pre-indomitable spirit, and she was evident- "What have I done to David that he dis- served copious quantities of letters, ly immensely resourceful in protecting likes me so much?"

diaries, and other documents. The resulther charge. They were helped by An English boy with a Jewish moth- is a kind of miracle of reconstruction as David's uncle Eduardo, the Spanish er, David might not have survived if the before our eyes, the "world of yester-consul in Bordeaux, who defied his own Nazis had nabbed him; yet it never day" (as Stefan Zweig called it) rises fascist government to issue thousand occurred to him that he might count as again. With the painstaking technique of visas to Jews and other refugees. He was Jewish himself. Years later, when he a novelist, Pryce-Jones assembles a later commemorated as a righteous gen- went to school at Eton, he found a note mosaic of countless details that together tile at Yad Vashem.

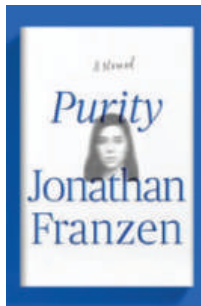
on his desk: "Your mother is a dirty build up an unforgettable portrait of a The most elusive of the dramatis per Jewess." David recognized the hand- society unaware that it was in the final one is also the one most familiar to writing as belonging to the son of a stages of disintegration.

American readers: Alan Pryce-Jones, banker and complained to his house-



# The iFranzen

RANDY BOYAGODA



master, Oliver Van Oss (known as OVO), who had the sense to take both boys aside and tell them that there were now three people of Jewish origin in the room. The same teacher took David's side when the school librarian reported him for requesting "filth." He had asked for George Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, which his father had just reviewed for the TLS. "That evening, OVO came to find me in my room to say, 'You must forgive Mr. Cattley, he is a very simple sôil."

Despite the angst that was the price he paid for growing up in such a world, the young David seems to have had unlimited confidence and a joie de vivre that enabled him to slay a few Goliaths and to woo the woman of his dreams.

This was Clarissa Caccia, daughter of an Anglo-Italian diplomat. She, like David, had dived with death during the war (her ship was dive-bombed by the Germans off Greece), she had grown up in post-war Vienna, and David had known her brother at Eton. Clarissa proved to be the perfect wife for him—and despite losing a beloved daughter in infancy—they have been happily married ever since. The final chapters of this memoir chart their years together and the vicissitudes that accompanied them. It ends with the death of the matriarch Mitzi, also known as Granny Wooster. She had been married to a man called Frank Wooster, a homosexual with whom she had lived more or less happily in ménage à trois with his lover Goldschmidt. The name "Wooster" is no coincidence: Frank played golf with P. G. Wodehouse.

An equally important theme, though, is the coming of age of David Pryce-Jones. This is only hinted at, but it is clear that he soon threw off the shackles of conventional liberalism on such matters as the Cold War and Israel. In the end, he was disillusioned by the experience of being cheated out of his inheritance by his uncle Elie Rothschild. But that disappointment was far outweighed by the knowledge that he has lived the intellectual life of his father, who was too feckless to persevere, that he and Clarissa plowed their own furrow, and that he has tolerated the intolerable. Not a bad reckoning, all told. Bring on the sequel, Mr. Pryce-Jones.

*Purity: A Novel*, by Jonathan Franzen (Farrar, Straus, 576 pp., \$28)

THE publication of a new Jonathan Franzen novel has a lot in common with the release of a new iPhone: Both are greeted with absurd amounts of anticipation, excitement, and derision, along with much commentary, and analysis of the work, etc. To be sure, there are many important novelists working today, and likewise various sorts of whiz-bang smartphones, but only Franzen and his iPhone dominate conversations in this town, and with good reason: In both cases, even when a new release comes out, it doesn't represent a dramatic advance on its hallowed predecessors, it's still pretty impressive.

Following on Franzen's most recent novels, *The Corrections* (2001) and *Freedom* (2010), funny and very smart Pip's father, beyond stressing that he was abusive and is (fortunately) long gone from their lives.

Practiced at his bravura storytelling, Pip discovers that her mother has unapologetically lifted all evidence of spousal abuse from someone else's memoir, and this leads to one of the protagonist's many tantrums. Soon enough, however, Pip gets over herself enough to be drawn into a much more complicated and intrigue-filled adventure involving two men: a shadowy Internet activist-provocateur, and a crusading investigative journalist. Her involvements with them offer Pip assorted opportunities to figure out what she really ought to do with her life, and also to discover truths about herself and her

to fail," Franzen tells us on the opening page of the novel, introducing the novel's namesake protagonist, Purity "Pip" Tyler. Franzen's distinctive gift is to take a universal situation—a young woman's just making her way into the wider world and already done in by the demands of her parent—and make it feel fresh and immediate by drawing on a very current vernacular to express the character's difficulties, while also making fun of the character's grandiose self-dramatizing.

Pip is a monstrosity self-involved and self-pitying young woman, and more or less an archetypal 21st-century elite American loser: "From somewhere in college, Pip had gotten the idea . . . that the height of civilization was to spend Sunday morning reading an actual paper copy of the *New York Times* at a café." Stuck with \$130,000 in debt

from a vague higher education, when she's not flipping through *Time* she works for an alternative-energy collective, Renewable Solutions. To the degree that she understands her duties, her tele-marketing work amounts to convincing people to let her company apply for government rebates on their behalf (and of course take a cut for its trouble). She lives in Oakland, in a decrepit house full of natural and ideological slackers, and she's prone to falling for married men and to screwing up opportunities with good guys, including a guy who reads *the Times* on Sunday morning at a café. Also, she's obsessed with her reclusive hypochondriac mother, who lives in a cabin in northern California and refuses to divulge any information about her own past, or about

Pip's father, beyond stressing that he was abusive and is (fortunately) long gone from their lives. Pip discovers that her mother has unapologetically lifted all evidence of spousal abuse from someone else's memoir, and this leads to one of the protagonist's many tantrums. Soon enough, however, Pip gets over herself enough to be drawn into a much more complicated and intrigue-filled adventure involving two men: a shadowy Internet activist-provocateur, and a crusading investigative journalist. Her involvements with them offer Pip assorted opportunities to figure out what she really ought to do with her life, and also to discover truths about herself and her



family's past. To be sure, she pursues would-be journalist moving around mashed up with romantic journalistic all of this with lots more tantrums, Europe. Wolf confides to him about his ambitions, all of which we learn about snits, and sulks, which Franzen de-murderous deed and then further impli- in an extended segment that Franzen scribes in great detail, moving effort- cates him in a final effort to concealsituates in the heart of the novel, just as lessly back and forth along a continuumthis, before he begins his new life and its many-threaded present-time plot is ranging from generous sympathy to career, as a famed exposé of stateset to tighten. spiking satire.

Pip represents the young middle point By the second decade of the new cen-accustomed to the formal method he in a triangle that also involves the tury, Wolf and his "Sunlight Project" deploys in *urity*, of interlocking a book's two major male characters. The are fully digital and openly competing series of long chapters, almost novel-first, Andreas Wolf, comes of age inwith Julian Assange and his WikiLeaks. las, each dedicated to a single charac- East Berlin, near the end of the Cold- "The Stasi was the best friend [Andreaster. Indeed, it's in this very structure War. He's the son of a powerful Partyhad] ever had—until he met the Internetthat a great deal of the reading pleasure official, which affords much cover He'd found a way to use both of themof the novel is to be found, specifically while he hangs around church base- while standing apart from them. . . . Fom discovering how the main characters ments looking for vulnerable young all the good work the Sunlight Projectconnect to one another. At the same women he can console by taking them todid, it now functioned mainly as antime, though, Aberant's backstory isn't his father's dacha. A lothario full of self-extension of his ego." That ego is that engaging. Franzen's rendering of loathing, and erratic in thought, feeling, exceedingly well tended to by the tal-young Tom and his erratic wife recall and act, he kills a Stasi officer who hadnted, idealistic, and variously dam- much of Pip's youthful ways, but with been molesting his own stepdaughter, a aged young people Wolf attracts to hisnot nearly enough accompanying satire, 15-year-old whom Wolf himself was cultish headquarters in a jungle in and this part of the novel reads finally pursuing. This faux-Raskolnikov act Bolivia. Fitting in only too well in thisas a little too self-indulgent. As such, sets in motion a self-seeking campaign milieu, and looking for an excuse tothe segment significantly undermines for concealment and preservation that get away from her smothering mother the propulsive energy of the novel's coincides with the fall of the Wall andand pointless job, Pip joins Wolf andmain story: Pip's semi-witting involve- in turn, with the opening up of Eastthis group.

Germany's secret files on its citizens. After becoming Wolf's confidante mation about Aberant and his news Canny and telegenic, Wolf seizes a sud-and in-house spy via some robust headorganization on the assumption that den chance at fame and, instead ofgames and awkward and aggressive Aberant is going to reveal Wolf's mur- being just another citizen ransacking an sexual activity, and after lots of ambiva-derous past to the world and thereby archive building to find out what theence and upset, she's rerouted to work,destroy the Sunlight Project and Wolf state knew about him, he arranges him-ostensibly, for Tom Aberant. In the himself. This serves as a means for Pip self in front of television cameras andyears since he met Wolf in Berlin, he'ssimultaneously to learn shocking de - becomes the self-styled leader in a cam-become the thoughtful publisher of an tails about her mother and to discover pain to reveal all the many secrets ofonline investigative newspaper based in the identity of her father.

He is subsequently interviewed by dramatic than Wolf's, but still compli- revealed, and it's then that Franzen Tom Aberant, a young American and cated: a youthful, ill-fated marriage leaves off all the smart cultural obser-

vation and the fine-ticking multi-part storyline for something far more traditional: Pip must decide just how much love and forgiveness she can offer, and receive, from the people in her life. "Weak people hold grudges, Mom. Strong people forgive," she declares, and for once with this character, this is no mere rant or ideal, but instead an idea that rings true to experience. Franzen is too much a realist about the human condition to leave his Dickensian-named protagonist with the great expectation that her crowning insight will be easily shared and perfectly lived out by her loved ones. But we know that at the very least, Pip will herself keep trying for love and forgiveness, thanks to the affecting final paragraph of *urity*, the great Jonathan Franzen's good-enough new book.

NR

## SLUMBERING ORION

As first light gently pulls the dawn across the earth,  
Supine Orion readies his bed for the dream of day, and  
Slumbers within sight of the tranquil Pleiades  
Now cloaked by the glowing summer moon and, soon, the sun.

At sunfall when night next crosses east to west,  
Orion rises late with sword unsheathed and shield uplifted, and  
Strews the embers from his forge into the darkness of the night,  
And sets to glowing these diamonds on black velvet smooth to touch.

From age to age his valiant stance unchanged,  
Once his ancient eponym held dominion o'er the earth.  
Knows he now the obeisance that is due,  
Hunter's turned to hunted by the founder of the forge.

—RONALD EDWARD CROCKER



Text

Film

# No Direction Home

ROSS DOUTHAT

THIS will be a dissent, though not a particularly angry one. Just about everyone seems to love *The Martian*, Ridley Scott's new film about an astronaut marooned on the Red Planet, and there is, indeed, a great deal to enjoy about it. But it's also somewhat overpraised; it starts very strong, but in a reversal of the usual way of this kind of lost-in-space movie, it actually loses energy and interest as our hero's deliverance approaches.

We begin in the middle of a Mars mission, with the astronauts already safely landed on the Martian surface, bantering as they excavate red dirt around their spacecraft. Then, suddenly, a dust storm looms, there's a scramble for the rocket, and one of the party—Mark Watney, the botanist, played by Matt Damon—gets hit by a flying piece of equipment and carried off into the darkness. The rest of the crew can't find him, the ship has to take off, and after it leaps to safety we see the head of NASA (Jeff Daniels) informing a crowd of journalists that Watney didn't make it, that he died on Mars.

Except that he didn't: He's alive, marooned, with enough life support and food to last maybe six months, no way to communicate with Earth, and the prospect of a four-year wait until the next manned mission is scheduled to arrive. In the harshest environment imaginable, he has to figure out a way to stay alive.

This is the setup, the first 20 minutes, and for a while afterward the movie crackles. Damon's Watney declines to stare into the abyss; instead, he cracks wise to his video diary, winks and mugs and generally maintains a buoyant (if slightly rueful) optimism. And then he sets out, Tom Swift-style, to "science" his way to survival, whether that means using his fellow astronauts' excretions to fertilize a potato crop or literally conjuring water out of thin air (and burning hydrogen).

Back on Earth, meanwhile, NASA finally figures out that he's survived, at which point a team of bureaucrats and



Matt Damon in *The Martian*

nerds—Daniels as the heavy, Kristen Wiig as his PR rep, Chiwetel Ejiofor, Benedict Wong, Donald Glover, and Sean Bean as various scientists and space whippersnappers—has to figure out how to communicate with him, how to ship him supplies, and how to break the news to his shipmates (who are now headed for Earth) that when they left him for dead, he was actually still kicking. And it doesn't take long for the crew to realize that Watney's crewmates, though, have only the barest hints of backstory, and while they have energy and verve, they don't express anything beyond generic angst and bland nobility. (It doesn't help that there are so many of them.)

Those ideas should set the movie up for a rousing, moving finish; it's a variation on the *Apollo 13* and *Gravity* narrative, and those are films whose finales never fail to put a lump in your (or at least my) throat. But *The Martian* spends its first hour working hard not to be those movies: refusing to play up the pathos, making Watney's resourcefulness the main story, declining to give him either a tragic backstory or a wife or family waiting back on Earth. Which is fine, excellent even, while Watney's mostly by himself—it's nice to see a movie about space flight that isn't just about getting safely home—but then when it comes time for the rescue plan, the obstacles and solutions become too predictable, and the movie goes to the well of deep emotion and finds it mostly empty.

The biggest problem here is the crew. The characters back on Earth don't quite have the lived-in feel of the Mission Control types in *Apollo 13*; Daniels's waspish bad cop is the only one who feels more completely true to life. But they at least have a lot to argue about and do, and so their scenes have energy and verve. Watney's crewmates, though, have only the barest hints of backstory, and while these are fine actors—comes close to expressing anything beyond generic angst and bland nobility. (It doesn't help that there are so many of them.)

Again, the comparison with *Apollo 13*, in which Bill Paxton and Kevin Bacon inhabited deeply recognizable human beings alongside Tom Hanks's Hanksian Jim Lovell, leaves this crew of astronauts seeming smooth, generic, empty. Which is a problem, because it's the crew that has to help carry the film's climax, when lives will be risked and crowds wait in Times Square to hear whether our heroes will be coming home. These scenes are . . . fine, but they don't have nearly the power they should. Instead of a culmination, they feel like an all-too-predictable finish to a movie that was much more interesting when Damon was all by himself, counting days and potatoes with red wastelands all around.

NR

## The Napier Doctrine

**S**OME of you probably know the story, but too elders complained to Quinn and others about how predatory many people don't. So I will repeat it heretory the militias had become. So beating the child rapist General Charles Napier was the British can be understood as an improvisational effort to win the commander-in-chief of colonial India. His hearts and minds of the locals. But even if not, it was the most notable military accomplishment was conquering right thing to do.

the province of Sindh—now in modern Pakistan— I'm no wild-eyed idealist. If we absolutely need to ally despite not having been instructed to do so. After securing ourselves with scummy, backward people in furtherance of ing victory, he reportedly sent a one-word message back a broader strategic imperative, so be it. But you know to the Home Office: "Peccavi." In Latin, "Peccavi" what? Tolerance is a two-way street. Our troops are taught means "I have sinned."

But that's not the story I have in mind. On one occasion a delegation of Hindu priests came to Napier to repeat their objection to the British prohibition of *sati*, the practice of widows' throwing themselves onto their husbands' funeral pyres, sometimes under compulsion. You Brits, they explained, do not appreciate what a venerable custom this is in India.

Napier replied:

Be it so. This burning of widows is your custom; prepare the funeral pile. But my nation has also a custom. When men burn women alive we hang them, and confiscate all their property. My carpenters shall therefore erect gibbets on which to hang all concerned when the widow is consumed. Let us all act according to national customs.



General Charles Napier

Yes, yes, let us all note that imperialism is an ugly thing. But this is still a glorious example of might and right working in tandem. Too often we are taught, in a kind of implied fallacy, that because "might doesn't make right," might must always be wrong. There is nothing wrong with power, per se, only with the abuse of it. Speaking truth to power is a fine thing, but sometimes the truth one should speak is "Stay the course."

The Napier anecdote has been rattling around in my brain for weeks, ever since the *New York Times* reported that American soldiers have been ordered to ignore rampant child rape by Afghan militias, even on U.S. military bases. Special Forces captain Dan Quinn beat the tar out of an Afghan commander who'd kept a boy chained to his bed as a sex slave. As a result, Quinn has been drumming a bone in your nose." Every culture has its pieties and therefore its Tartuffian hypocrisies, but not all

Of course, the Pashtun fondness for bugging young boys is well known. Kandahar's reputation as the predatory capital of South Asia—worst tourist slogan ever!—goes back centuries. The practice, called *bacha bazi*, is a kind of Veblenesque "conspicuous consumption." Rich and powerful men—chiefly warlords—take on sex slaves as a status symbol. The unpopularity of the practice helped fuel the rise of the Taliban, which banned it. Local villages

to adhere to many local customs around the world as a sign of respect. Take off your shoes when you enter their homes. Eat from the communal bowl with your right hand only. Etc.

Well, in return, our allies should be expected to meet the minimum requirements of our culture. And way up high on the list of good manners in the West—much higher, in fact, than the proper use of salad forks or covering your mouth when you cough—is: Do Not Rape Young Boys When You Are a Guest of the Americans. An important follow-up in the etiquette manual would state: "If you wish to follow your own customs in this matter, take note: It is an American custom to beat the stuffing out of men who chain up and rape young boys."

Such civilizational confidence is being taught out of our children today. It is an outrage to even suggest that there might be something to celebrate about Western civilization, beyond, of course, its capacity to immolate itself in the name of "self-criticism."

Nietzsche was right when he said that "every nation has its own Tartuffery, and calls that its virtue." And Obama was right when he suggested that every country thinks it's exceptional in its own way. And every parent is right to think that his kid is special. One can acknowledge all of these things without making the nihilist's leap into the

belief that there are no meaningful moral distinctions. All kids are special to someone, but everyone can agree who the piano prodigy is—and isn't. Every country is exceptional, but not in equal measure. As the late William Henry III put it in his book *Defense of Elitism*: "It is scarcely the same thing to put a man on the moon as to put a bone in your nose." Every culture has its pieties and therefore its Tartuffian hypocrisies, but not all

The irony is that it is the Left that teaches that all cultures are equally good, while failing to recognize the logical consequences of this idea. If all cultures are equal, then there is no outside standard by which to condemn some and praise others. If that's the case, then there is no moral argument against, say, the once proud British custom of conquering other countries and civilizing them.

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